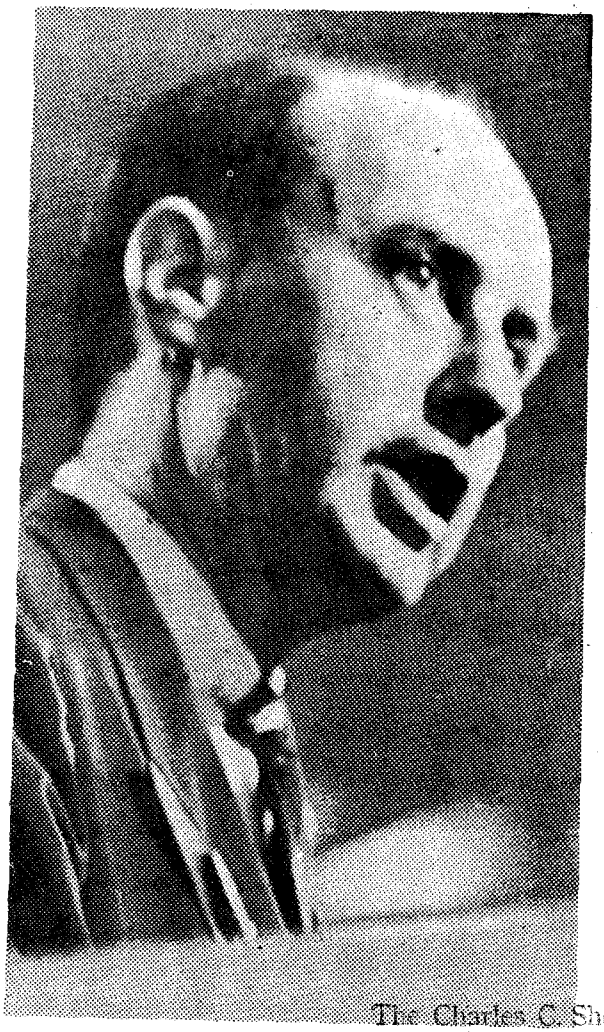
20c OCTOBER 20, 1952 LITERATURE AND THE ARTS—page 25

New Republic

STEVENSON SPEAKS



A special 14-page section of the candidate's speeches on Asia, inflation, corruption, the South, farm policy, labor legislation, civil rights, the press, McCarthyism, Communism and peace.

The Charles C. Sherrod Library
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
Johnson City, Tennessee
OCT 30 1952

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters

A Senator's Salary

● In the article, "Mr. Nixon's Secret Income" (*NR* Sept. 29), you say: "Newsmen checking the salary and expenses given Mr. Nixon by the government pushed the total to approximately $70,000. . . . The combined total of Dana Smith's little fund and the Senator's legitimate allowance from the government averaged $79,000 per year." The American public needs to know these facts and to have them documented. Is it possible for you to give your readers an approximately itemized statement which will support the above assertions?
New Haven, Conn. ROBERT L. TUCKER

[Senator Nixon receives from the government a $12,500 base salary, $2,500 for expenses (tax free), and $60,000 for salaries for his executive assistant and his secretaries (according to the Secretary of the Senate's report—Senate Document 96—Nixon's secretarial staff is paid $15,000 per quarter or $60,000 per year). This totals $75,000 and does not include special allotments for stamps, telephone calls and travel expenses. In addition, of course, Senator Nixon received $18,000 from his special fund during his two years in the Senate—or approximately $9,000 per year. – THE EDITORS.]

Nixon's Kitty

● Now that the shocking fact has been disclosed that Richard Nixon has been receiving (so far disclosed a kitty of $16,000) from big business representatives in the state of California, and is trying to shield his actions by setting up righteous alibis, I think it might be well to dig into that famous use by the former Senator Brewster of Mystery Man Gruenwald of $5,000. Evidently there has been a long-term plan to place Richard Nixon in a position where he can serve as a tool. . . . There was a time when the Republican Party would not swallow such men as the Vares and Lorimers. . . .

What is the difference between accepting this money and accepting a bribe?
Draper, Utah C. H. CARLQUIST

The Nixon Fund

● I have read with much interest Jean Begeman's article, "Nixon: The Press Supresses The News" (Oct. 6). However, I do not feel blue because only 9.5 percent of our newspapers are supporting Governor Stevenson. My reason is that a survey of our newspapers, made early in August, showed that 78.5 percent of them were strongly opposed to Senator McCarthy. Despite this overwhelming percentage of newspapers against McCarthy, he won an overwhelming and sensational victory in the Wisconsin primary. This may show that newspaper readers have lost confidence in their newspapers, or that newspaper readers have lost confidence in their newspapers, or that newspaper readers are little influenced by what newspapers oppose or favor.
Baltimore, Md. A READER

Ministers and McCarthy

● I have just finished reading Emil Rhodes' article on "McCarthy and the Ministers" (*NR*, Sept. 29). I challenge the daring of a man who can survey 250 clergymen with a response of 195 and wind up with the conclusion that, "We now have the ironic prospect of the man in the pulpit urging us on Sunday: 'Thou shalt not bear false witness' and on the first Tuesday in November voting for the man many people believe is the Senate's leading violator of the Ninth Commandment."

With over 180,000 clergymen in the United States, how can a man reach a conclusion on such a small sample? I am wondering if this sort of sampling and conclusions are not as dangerous as the methods of a man named McCarthy? I personally have denounced his methods from the pulpit and at luncheon speaking opportunities and I am sure that many a thoughtful clergyman has done the same, but to make such a definite conclusion on such infinitesimal sample is not only heresy but exactly the same sort of a method that is being employed by Senator McCarthy. I think Mr. Rhodes owes his clergy readers an apology.
Sturgis, Mich. REV. R. C. DUNKELBERGER

● My first reaction on reading Emil Rhodes' piece, "McCarthy and the Ministers" (*NR*, Sept. 29) was—no, it couldn't be! Then, I thought back to the senile addlepate who preceded my present minister in the pulpit. One Sunday he interposed stories in dialect about "darkies" in his so-called sermon when some colored people happened to attend our services. I remembered, too, a number of misfits palmed off on the armed services as chaplains. . . . I doubt that there could have been many Methodists among these polled.
Cleveland, Ohio FRED HUSA

The "In Party"

● Because my article, "Can Eisenhower Defeat History?" (*NR*, Sept. 29) had to be abbreviated a bit, my definition of the "In Party" was not included. Lest anyone think that I am confused when I talk of a "return to power" of the Ins, or suggest that the Republicans were the Ins in 1920, let me explain. American history has been dominated by three broad political *myths* (generalized political faiths): first, that of Jeffersonian-Jackson democracy ("Frontier Individualism"); second, after the Civil War, Industrial Individualism"; and, last, since the "thirties, the "Collective Security" of government aid and assistance to labor, the farmer and business. Each important myth is associated in the public mind with a particular political party. The party associated with the myth dominant at any particular time I define as the *In Party*. Hence the Republicans were the Ins in 1920, though they were not at the moment possessors of the White House. The Democrats, likewise, are today's In Party and will very probably be four years hence regardless of whether Ike or Stevenson wins.
Detroit, Mich. CHARLES R. ADRIAN

Political Irresponsibility

● The picture of McCarthy on the rear platform of the Ike train with the Republican candidate should be the "kiss of death," but in 1952 that is considered practical politics. Ike explains that Communism is the enemy and that the Sen-

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

Ask the Man Who Knows

Gov. Adlai Stevenson, the Democratic Presidential candidate is nothing more than a "country club edition" of President Truman. Sen. Styles Bridges (R, N.H.) said . . . at a dinner in the Whitemarsh Country Club. – *From the Philadelphia* Bulletin.

True Devotion

If you don't think it's really love between Ginger Rogers and the 24-year-old Frenchman Jacques Bergerac, listen to this:

Bergerac flew in from Paris last night to see Ginger and at the same time to talk about a motion-picture deal.—*Louella O. Parsons in the New York* American.

Those Socialistic Shoplifters

William Triplett, manager of Columbia Food stores, said the "something-for-nothing" theory of government may have some bearing on the sharp increase in shoplifting." – *From the Portland* Oregonian.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Republic

CONTENTS FOR OCT. 20, 1952

5 The Battle for the South
I. Stevenson in Dixie

6 II. Texas—A Toss Up

7 Making Crowds While the Sun Shines

8 The Pope on Psychoanalysis

9 Special Section—Stevenson Speaks

23 Military Civil Rights: A Report, by Harry Conn

25 Literature and the Arts:

25 Bernard Berenson, *Rumor and Reflection,* by Joseph Frank

26 Walter Lippmann, *Isolation and Alliances,* by Michael Straight

27 Joyce Cary, *Prisoner of Grace,* by Isaac Rosenfeld

27 Wyndham Lewis, *Revenge for Love,* by Irving Howe

28 Problems of the West, by Hans Kohn

29 R. Morris, *Fair Trial,* by M. Miller

30 J. Strachey, *Frontiers,* by G. Mayberry

30 In the Midst of Death, by Eric Bentley

EDITOR: Michael Straight
CHAIRMAN, Editorial Board: Bruce Bliven
PUBLISHER: Daniel Mebane
MANAGING EDITOR: Helen Fuller
LITERARY EDITOR: Robert Richman
REPORTERS: Jean Begeman, Tom Fitzsimmons, Arnold J. Heidenheimer (on leave with the Armed Services)
CONTRIBUTING EDITORS: Eric Bentley, Drama Critic; Malcolm Cowley; Robert Evett, Music Critic.
CONTRIBUTING CRITICS: W. H. Auden, Nicola Chiaramonte, Harold Clurman, Dudley Fitts, Kimon Friar, Gerald Johnson, V. O. Key, Max Lerner, Richard Lester, James R. Newman, Kathleen Raine, John Crowe Ransom, Herbert Read, Mark Schorer, James Johnson Sweeney, Robert Penn Warren
ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANT: F. R. Ruskin
COPY ASSISTANT: Lucille Davis

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1952 IN THE USA BY WESTBURY PUBLICATIONS, INC., PUBLISHING OFFICE 301 N ST., N.E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C. EDITORIAL COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 1416 F ST, N.W., WASHINGTON 4, D. C: BUSINESS COMMUNICATIONS SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO 40 EAST 49TH ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER SEPTEMBER 26, 1950, AT THE POST OFFICE AT WASHINGTON, D. C., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY, 20c; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50.

WASHINGTON WIRE

YOU HAVE to travel across America with Ike to discover how he has surrendered to Taft and what that Morningside Heights capitulation meant. That surrender dominates this election. Ike, you remember, came back from his first Southern trip elated and then ventured into Ohio where he discovered the facts of life. He had not yet made peace with Taft, and the GOP simply cold-shouldered him. It was then that he decided Taft was vital. Taft went to the September 12 Morningside Heights meeting with the capitulation terms prepared in advance, and Ike signed them with hardly a change. "The greatest threat to liberty today is internal," Taft told the press. Afterwards Taft said he "wished to be sure" of Ike's attitude, and after a two-hour discussion with him "I am satisfied that this is his 'philosophy'."

An unwritten part of the surrender terms was the embracing of Senators Jenner, McCarthy, Cain and "all" Republicans. The cross-continental tour from which Ike now returns has seen that dirty business accomplished. George Marshall was Ike's patron and benefactor, and Jenner and McCarthy defamed him; Ike embraced the two with no comment. As revealed in this column last week, Ike had originally proposed a four-line encomium of Marshall in his Milwaukee speech but after talking with McCarthy thought better of it. Oh, no, (the General told newsmen in his press car) Joe didn't actually censor the speech; the deletion was made voluntarily on the General's part.

At San Francisco Ike denounced the Korean peace talks as a Communist "bear-pit" into which the hated Democrats had fallen. In delivering his speech he omitted this portion, but it was already in newspapers from advance texts. At Los Angeles Ike gave a meager and contradictory approval of federal aid to education and health that came right out of Taft's books. If families are struck by "catastrophic" sickness, he said, something in the way of federal loans should be worked out for them. Actually this is even less than Taft proposes.

How can Ike swallow his new line, particularly since he is an internationalist at heart, even though he tells audiences that Asians should be left to fight Asians? The answer has two parts: (a) every soldier knows there is no substitute for victory, and Ike is intent on victory; and (b) on domestic matters Ike passionately and sincerely opposes federal intervention in local affairs. The latest transcontinental trip reveals beyond doubt what was hinted before on that first Eisenhower return to Abilene. His boyhood view of America, from which he has been withdrawn 41 years as a soldier, is of an earlier, simpler day. Big government had not then grown up to give chase to big business: The cardinal tenet of Ike's limited economic and social philosophy is, as he puts it, to prevent government sticking "its long nose into your business in terms of bossing."

Taft has progressed beyond this, but Ike is a throw-back, he is an American of 1911, his views represent not merely the feeling that the New Deal revolution has gone far enough but that it has gone too far. He is a counter-revolutionist entirely surrounded by men who know how to profit by it.

One further thought about the Ike "crusade." There is a mawkish, sanctimonious air about it that close contact does not make any pleasanter. We really believe Ike is sincere in this, and yet we have never seen a group of reporters traveling with a candidate so predominantly unsympathetic to him. All across the continent Ike has preached the philosophy that only the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Republicans can get peace; only the Republicans can unite the nation spiritually says Ike (with earnest, beaming face), and only by such unity can the nation have strength to win "peace." Now this is not merely silly, it is dangerous, divisive doctrine for a nation at war. But if this point is made against Ike he becomes an old soldier: "I am not a politician," he comments while the crowd cheers. For every attack on him he has a successful reply; he pulls rank—"I have been under fire from real artillery," the General says humbly. How can a mere politician answer that?

On the day the Scripps-Howard papers denounced Secretary Acheson as a pusillanimous "Milquetoast" for not demanding the recall of the Soviet ambassador, other papers revealed Ike's off-the-record opinion to newsmen, the Sunday before, against ousting the envoy on the military ground that you should never lose contact with the enemy. It was very sensible advice, and a pity that Scripps-Howard—which is almost as passionately for Ike as it is against Acheson—hadn't received advance guidance.

Ike's statistical discovery last week was that 6,000 new Americans are born every day, and with round-eyed wonder he brought it into every speech.

A good example of character defamation comes from the McCarran Subcommittee on Internal Security. It seems that ex-Communist Paul Crouch thinks he remembers seeing one of two sisters in the party fold a quarter of a century ago. One of the sisters is Mrs. Leon Keyserling, on leave from a Commerce Department job during a loyalty check-up supposed to be confidential. The other says she is probably the one Crouch remembers though she never was a party member. A McCarran "Committee spokesman" has carefully leaked the whole thing to selected reporters. Though ex-Communist Crouch can't take an oath on his vague charges, the "spokesman" says he is "a reputable witness."

With Eisenhower Party T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

ator doesn't use the same methods as the General to combat it; but otherwise Wisconsin's junior Senator is a Republican, so Ike takes him along on his crusade. General Marshall must be heart sick!

If Ike had a General who was violating every rule in the field and not defeating any of the enemy forces but hurting the allies, I doubt that Ike would agree that the method was wrong but that this General in his command was carrying on in an irresponsible manner. In 1945 Ike would have court-martialed him!

Walnut Creek, Calif. THOMAS E. KENDALL

Votes and the Hot War

● Both major political parties are now moving heaven and earth to get our votes, and each is giving multitudes of reasons why it should be supported. Civil rights, states' rights, "Socialism," high prices, prosperity, full employment are being discussed in great detail. However, the most important issue is being neglected. That is world peace. In this particular election there is only one thing that should be considered in voting. That thing is this: Which party is most likely to prevent world war III? All the other issues will fade away if another world war begins. . . .

Obviously, we must do our best to avoid another war. The Democratic Party seems to be the safest party to guide us during the next four years—which no doubt will be an extremely critical period of history. That party learned a most valuable lesson by its Korean venture, and certainly will do everything possible from now on to limit the hot war. Of course, no one knows what the Republicans will do if elected, but some of their leaders apparently want to extend the present war in the hope of a quick victory.

LT. COMDR. CHARLES S. SEELY

Rapidan, Va.

"A Good Captive Story"

● Apparently we are to hear no more of captive candidates. I make this assumption because I anticipated a great display of newsprint on the subject after Senator Taft had his now famous matutinal meeting with General Eisenhower at Columbia University. To one ignorant of the requisite ingredients of a good captive story, this episode must have been lacking in the incident for no such story has been detected in our great discerning press. . . . Let me suggest the changes that might have made it newsworthy:

Truman should have retired to his study to write a declaration of political beliefs for Governor Stevenson. Then he should have carried them to a breakfast (or luncheon or dinner) meeting with Stevenson. Then Truman should have met the press to inform it of what his and Stevenson's beliefs really were. It would have helped if Truman were so inept a politician that he had hastened to add triumphantly that all of the statement ostensibly agreed to at the meeting had been written by himself before the two had met to decide what the two of them really believed.

Have we not here the ingredients for one of the great stories of the century on captivation? Or is the season open for captivation of only the candidates of one great party?

Prairie Village, Kans. PAUL TILFORD

Bullitt for Congress

● The character of the Congress, which will be decided by the forthcoming election, will have more to do with the preservation and extension af the free world and the kind of leadership that world will have, than any other single factor.

Men who will preserve and extend our liberties at home, while advancing them abroad, by precept and assistance, are rare. They need all the help that you can give them. Such a man is STIMSON BULLITT, candidate for Congress in the First District of the state of Washington. This is the third largest district in the United States, and has been ably represented until now by Hugh Mitchell. Bullitt has the wholehearted sponsorship of Mitchell, Warren Magnuson and Henry M. Jackson, who have provided the state of Washington with as fine representation as any state in the union. . . . Bullitt is a young Seattle lawyer who has a distinguished record in civil liberties, international relations and civil rights. . . . He was one of the initiators of the Washington state FEPC. He is vice-president, and a long-time board member of the Urban League of Seattle. . . . But Bullitt has a tough fight in November. The Republicans polled a larger vote than the Democrats in the primary. His opponent, Thomas W. Pelly, is an ex-head of the Chamber of Commerce and has been loud in opposition to public housing, the "encroachments" of the UN and the development of the Columbia Valley. Bullitt can beat him, but he needs help. Contributions to his campaign would be most gratefully accepted. Send to: Old Star Bldg., 1309-7th Avenue, Seattle 1, Wash.

DAVID G. SPRAGUE, *chairman*

Seattle, Wash.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

VOLUME 127, NUMBER 16, ISSUE 1977, WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER 20, 1952

New Republic

THE BATTLE FOR THE SOUTH

I. STEVENSON IN DIXIE

FOUR SOUTHERN states—Texas, Louisiana, Florida and Virginia—are regarded by both major parties as "marginal" in the 1952 Presidential contest. If they leave the Democratic fold, Governor Stevenson's mathematical chances in the electoral college are sharply reduced. If they can be held to their traditional Democratic loyalties, then Eisenhower must take one doubtful Northern state after another to offset the Democratic advantage in a "Solid South."

The danger of Southern defection was fully recognized by Governor Stevenson as he penetrated into regions where the voters had never before seen a Democratic nominee for President. Without talking out of both sides of his mouth, with no compromise of the articles of faith that are unpopular in the South, Stevenson managed in his tour to talk more like a real politician than he has since his nomination. In speeches in New Orleans, Miami, Tampa and Nashville the Governor, in his own elegant way, reminded the South that it never had it so good, and that a Republican victory would cost many Southerners their precious positions as chairmen of committees in the House and Senate. It was a little unnerving to hear Stevenson intimate, even slightly, that it would be a backward step on the ladder of social justice if Barden of North Carolina, chairman of the House Labor Committee, were replaced by McConnell of Pennsylvania, the ranking Republican on that committee.

But let's face it—there's a war on—and there is a desperate necessity for the Democrats to hang on to the South. This was obvious from the urgency in the epithets used by Stevenson when he urged Southerners not to follow such "embittered apostates" as Governors Shivers of Texas, Byrnes of South Carolina, and Kennon of Louisiana, who have announced that they were supporting Eisenhower.

Stevenson did refuse manfully to be mealy mouthed on the civil-rights issue, which is inflammable anywhere in the South, or the tidelands-oil issue, which is a tender matter in Louisiana. In New Orleans and in Nashville the Governor simply reminded his listeners that he stood upon the Democratic platform in the matter of minority rights, and that he recognized that he would find many citizens in the South disagreeing with him on this. Stevenson had political instinct enough to let it go at that. In New Orleans he told the people that there could be found a way to resolve the tidelands-oil dispute so as to be fair to the state of Louisiana without compromising the national interest.

The Governor even borrowed a page from President Truman's campaign textbook in Florida and reminded the voters of the precise benefits they had received from the federal government under 20 years of Democratic rule. In Miami, Stevenson reminded them of federal relief in times of hurricane and flood damage, of federal help in developing Biscayne Bay, in clearing slums and in expanding a local hospital.

Stevenson and his people are concerned about these doubtful Southern states, but they had some reason to feel a little better about Florida and Louisiana after the Governor's brief foray through them. There is a wave of Eisenhower sentiment which takes the form of an upper-middle-class counter-revolution. But beyond this is the demand of practical politics, which says that the South should remain Democratic if its statesmen in Washington are to continue, through the operation of the seniority system, to retain their positions of exaggerated importance in Congress. For this reason, the Democratic organizations in Louisiana and Florida, with the exception of a few unimportant factions, find it expedient to support the national ticket. It would take a pretty deeply rooted upper-middle-class counter-revolution to defeat Stevenson in Louisiana and Florida so long as the professionals are not trying to sabotage the ticket. It may be another story in Texas, where strong anti-Stevenson forces are pitted against Sam Rayburn and his influence, and in Virginia, where the state Democratic organization is acting much like people who want to throw the ball game.

The class consciousness of the Presidential contest in the South is especially apparent around New Orleans. In the Stevenson headquarters one finds the fellows in tight suits who can be identified in any city in America as precinct captains and payrollers. In the headquarters of Americans for Eisenhower, you see last year's debutantes and next year's Junior League leaders busily pecking away at their volunteer work in the great crusade. They represent, of course, the most articulate members of Southern society, if not the most numerous, and give the appearance of exercising more influence than is actually theirs.

"They are from our best families, you know," a man at the Eisenhower headquarters said.

But if there are enough of these well-fixed, but frightened and resentful people to take Southern states away from Stevenson against the pull of regular political organizations, workers, farmers and Negroes, then the South has come along a lot farther in 20 years than even Stevenson's research staff realizes.

New Orleans EDWIN A. LAHEY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

II. TEXAS—A TOSS UP

AN INVETERATE Texas Democrat with a sense of humor has said he hopes "all the oil men will vote for their General and all the farmers will vote for Governor Stevenson." Unfortunately, however, it isn't that simple. In what Sam Rayburn has called "a strange, strange year in the political history of Texas," voters are being treated to the spectacle of a public romance between the Republicans and the state Democratic Party which may well flower into a November GOP victory in Texas for the first time since 1928.

Stevenson follows hard on Eisenhower's heels through Texas where the General hopes to capture his native state. Whether Texans will be susceptible to Stevenson's "let's talk sense" theme on oil and civil-rights is the question.

At this time conservatives in control of the Democratic machinery and Republicans are openly flaunting their alliance in support of Eisenhower. The evidence:

The state Democratic convention, after grudgingly ordering the names of Stevenson and Sparkman placed on the Democratic ballot, adopted a resolution urging all party members to support Ike.

The state Republican convention put all the state Democratic nominees on the GOP ticket. Only one Democrat—Commissioner of Agriculture John White—declined the Republican nomination.

Democrats-for-Eisenhower, headed by Gov. Allan Shivers' lieutenants, are following the master plan for the campaign mapped in GOP state headquarters.

Texas Democratic Party leaders arrived at this unique position after a spectacular hassel with their political consciences. On the one hand was their open dislike for the Truman Administration and its tidelands stand and their desire to elect Eisenhower. On the other hand was their knowledge that Texans traditionally vote Democratic and their apparently congenital distaste for the Republican Party.

To reconcile these attitudes, various plans were proposed. The first, to place the Eisenhower-Nixon ticket in the Democratic column of the ballot so that Texans could choose between a Democratic Ike and a Republican Ike, was wrecked by the loyalty pledge taken at Chicago by Shivers. Hamstrung, the convention plotted its wayward course. The next inspiration, to secure a place on the ballot for "Texas Democrats" with Ike as their standard-bearer so that Texans could vote for Eisenhower without voting Republican, was killed in the courts. Currently, legal minds are pondering a proposal for a campaign to scratch-Stevenson and write-in-Eisenhower in the Democratic column. Possibly by coincidence, the sample ballots provide ample space for write-ins.

Perhaps coziest of all in the new partnership is the fact that the Democratic state chairman and the Republican state chairman are law partners and share the same Dallas office. All of this is extraordinarily convenient for everybody except the Stevenson supporters who were, in the words of Navarro County Judge James Sewell, state campaign manager, left with "nothing but the prestige of Sam Rayburn" when headquarters finally opened in Dallas in late September.

Since that time, Sen. Lyndon Johnson and Sen. Tom Connally have scheduled speeches for Stevenson, Judge Sarah Hughes of Dallas, fleetingly a vice-presidential nominee, is giving Stevenson vigorous support. A battery of Congressmen, including Albert Thomas, Wright Patman, among others, agreed to speak at Rayburn's request, but many maintained a discreet silence. Also silent is Martin Dies, returning to Washington as Congressman-at-large. And of all the Democratic state officials, only White is giving his party's nominee active aid.

Nor is Stevenson getting any comfort from the Texas press. Virtually all of the metropolitan dailies prefer Eisenhower. The Dallas *Morning News* has given its blessing to Ike; Amon Carter's Fort Worth *Star-Telegram* is supporting Ike just short of an outright endorsement; Jesse Jones' Houston *Chronicle,* the Scripps-Howard papers, the Dallas *Times-Herald* and the San Antonio *Express* are all in the Eisenhower column. Total circulation: 888,014.

The financial scale is also weighted heavily in Ike's favor, with the oil money on his side. A goal of a million dollars, to be raised and spent in Texas, has been freely mentioned. But GOP headquarters is keeping the figures in its bank balance to itself. Nor will Democratic headquarters do more than hazard a guess at total campaign expenditures. Sewell put the figure at less than $100,000—one-tenth of the GOP figure—and even that is apparently posing problems. In the Democrats' country-wide drive for $5 contributions, most states will share the money with national headquarters. Texas will keep all of its $5 donations—a fact indicative of the threat in a once-safe bailiwick and of the absence of assistance from state party machinery.

The whooped-up cause of local party chieftains' disaffection from Truman and Stevenson is the tidelands issue; it is a tailor-made *cause celebre*; even Stevenson's most ardent Texas supporters maintain the submerged coastal lands belong to the Lone Star State and not to the federal government. But they argue that the disaffection is essentially a symptom of the conflict between liberalism and conservatism; that were it not for the tidelands, the conservatives would have found another weapon with which to continue their battle against the Fair Deal.

Can Texans be prodded into a rage great enough to swing the state into the GOP camp? It appears close. Belden's Texas Poll showed, in early August, 50-percent preference for Stevenson and a 33-percent preference for Ike with the rest undecided. In late August, it showed 45 percent for Stevenson and 37 percent for Eisenhower. A Gallup poll in Texas showed, as of September 26, a candidate preference of 50 percent for Stevenson and 46 percent for Eisenhower. Ben Guill, Ike's state campaign manager, maintains Eisenhower has at least a 50-50 chance. Sewell says that "as of now, the worst we can do is 55-45." Time and the Texas voter will tell.

Ft. Worth, Tex. JEANNE DOUGLAS MURPHY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MAKING CROWDS WHILE THE SUN SHINES

THIS IS how spontaneous Republican enthusiasm was manufactured in San Francisco—a performance which has been and will be duplicated in major cities up to November 3.

On September 23, Republican campaign managers informed Mr. Chester McPhee, real-estate agent and chairman of the Northern California Republican Party, that General Eisenhower would arrive in San Francisco on October 8. For a few days nothing was done because of lack of specific instructions and because of a schism between regular party Republicans and Volunteers for Eisenhower caused by the Taft-Eisenhower marriage. On the first of October, however, word came that this was Ike's major effort "to win California," and harmony was restored.

Publicity was stepped up. In the space of three days the *Examiner* felt it necessary to print the reception program 15 times in all editions. Loudspeaker-equipped cars, trucks and a cable-car prowled and blared for 18 hours a day. Catchy slogans and clever gimmicks—pretty professional models wielding brooms in slow-moving trucks—abounded. A top-level public-relations firm, Lowenfeld and DiMarco, swung into action with freshly made stories for each edition of the city's four papers and the Oakland *Tribune*. Eight major radio and TV stations received the same or better service.

As the advance stories began to get stale, the *Chronicle*, which usually tries for balanced political news, trimmed Stevenson stories to the bone to keep its news columns top-heavy with Eisenhower developments. Lowenfeld and DiMarco admitted that by October 6 the story had been milked dry. With the political editors of the *Chronicle* and the *Examiner*, Earl Behrens and R. W. Jimerson, yelling for fresh leads, the publicity men desperately phoned the Eisenhower train. Failing to get satisfaction, they descended upon Arthur Tait, an Eisenhower advance man who had just checked into the St. Francis Hotel.

"For the love of God," they said, "can you get us some idea of what Ike is going to say. We're trying to feed four papers here—four Republican papers."

"I wish to heavens I could help you," Tait answered, "But how can Ike, or anyone else on the train, tell you what's going to be said when they don't know themselves? The speech is being written in New York," he continued, "and Ike won't know whether he is to talk about motherhood, sin, geography or the weather until he gets his copy about four o'clock on Friday."

Pure chaos was averted by using one of the oldest tricks in the political writing trade: the mystery angle. Eighteen minutes before their bulldog deadlines, the morning papers received a story manufactured in San Francisco which said, in substance, this: "Ike is in seclusion. Ike is mad. Ike, according to observers on his train [unidentified], is going to pull out all the stops. He is set to tear Truman and Stevenson apart. He is going to take the lid off the corruption story, lash the Administration with real facts on Communism in government, hammer away at the Korean War. All foreign policy is in for a thorough going over." On and on it went, supporting five- to eight-column headlines in all papers. Ike could have discussed the care and feeding of chicks, and Lowenfeld and DiMarco—and the papers—would have been completely protected.

Meanwhile other preparations progressed nicely: Senator Nixon had been shooed eastward to avoid the embarrassment of a platform meeting with Governor Warren or Senator Knowland; the Superintendent of San Francisco schools, Herbert Clish, was contacted to make sure the kids would be out to swell the crowds; more than 350 buses were hired to haul in supporters from as far away as 90 miles; free gas was available for those who wouldn't ride the buses; free box lunches were prepared.

Planning for the motorcade was meticulous: two Cadillacs were provided, one for the General and Mamie, one for the Governor, but the remaining 48 cars, by specific instruction, were to be "modest cars—Fords, Chevrolets and Plymouths."

The ticker tape was the real thing—no phone books or wastebasket material torn up in a frenzy of admiration—supplied by the Montgomery Street Committee to the offices lining the motorcade route.

The triumphant march began at 3:28 p.m., rolled through 16 blocks and a crowd estimated at 100,000, carefully avoided the slum areas, and ended at the St. Francis Hotel.

That evening the Cow Palace was filled early by a crowd of 25,000, mostly drawn from outside of San Francisco. When average San Franciscans arrived an hour or so before speaking time, they were turned away, some 7,000 said the police, 15,000 said the *Examiner*.

The General was in good form, although at times he seemed perplexed by what he was reading. The crowd was pleased, almost as much as it had been with Janet Blair, and the dancers and the singers and the Chinese acrobats who had entertained until the General came on.

Coming away, one felt the General could well have repeated here what he said to the Pennsylvania Republican State Committee in Philadelphia on September 4: "Each day these days something happens to remind me again how much of a neophyte I am in politics. . . . We have a task that demands perfection of organization. You people have that professional experience. . . . We had a sample of it on the streets today. You know that unless Mr. Hamilton and his associates were experienced organizers that crowd could not have been handled the way it was, indeed the crowd could not have been there."

San Francisco JOHN GERRITY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE POPE ON PSYCHOANALYSIS

POPE PIUS XII's formal pronouncement of the Roman Catholic Church's official attitude toward the theory and practice of psychoanalysis is interpreted in Rome as intended to end a long and often bitter controversy. One which has been going on for years.

The Pope's declaration was part of a long speech in French to the First International Congress of Histopathology of the Nervous System. His subject was "The Moral Limits of Medical Methods of Research and Treatment." He discussed these limits in the light of three principles: the interest of medical science, the individual interests of the patient, and the interests of the community—"the common good."

Concerning the first, he declared science "must be inserted in the order of values" in which it is by no means the highest. On the contrary, "medical science cannot transgress without violating the superior moral rules."

On rights of the community as expressed by the state, he stated that the relationship of the parts to the whole, of individuals to society, is not organic. Rather, the social unity is only a unity of goal and of activity. "In the community, individuals are only collaborators and instruments for the achievement of the communal goal. . . . Public authority undoubtedly involves direct authority and the right to make demands on the activities of the parts but in no case can it directly dispose of their physical being."

Concerning the second principle, the individual interests of the patient, he said:

> The patient is not the absolute master of himself, of his body, of his mind. Moreover, the reason for which he may act is not in itself a sufficient or determinant justification. The patient . . . possesses only the right of use [of himself]. Because he is the enjoyer and not the owner [of his body and mind], he does not have unlimited power to take or submit to acts of anatomical or functional destruction or mutilation. . . .

It is considered significant here that although the Pope presumably covered the whole general subject of the moral limitations of "new methods" of medical science, research and treatment, the only two specific examples he gave related to the second principle—the interests of the patient. The first concerned psychoanalysis and was the clearest of many such statements by high Catholic prelates in recent years.

As the sovereign head of the Church and the unquestioned moral guide of its hundreds of millions of communicants, Pope Pius condemned Freudian psychoanalysis in unmistakable, even harsh terms. The only other subject to receive comparably severe language was medical genocide as practiced by the Nazis, yet he did not refer to the Nazis or Germans by name.

Henceforth, no faithful Catholic is "free" to undertake Freudian psychoanalysis, and no Catholic doctor may give the treatment. On the other hand, the Pope carefully suggested a distinction between the orthodox Freudian theory and practice, and other dissident or opposing schools. And while showing a coolness for even these he nevertheless implied a degree of grudging tolerance for them.

This distinction was interpreted as the long-awaited verdict from "on high." As expected, the verdict was a compromise in the long struggle between Bishop Fulton J. Sheen and others of the US hierarchy, and influential prelates and laymen of other countries—notably France and Canada where Catholic schools and hospitals and non-Freudian—mostly Jungian—psychoanalytic practitioners are finding common ground.

Most of the Americans wanted blanket condemnation not only of all forms of psychoanalysis but even of all forms of scientific inquiry directly into the unconscious. Their opponents, seeing great possibilities for a closer bond between science and religion through the path of non-Freudian analysis, struggled to limit the ban to orthodox Freudians. It seems clear that the verdict came closer to their views than to those of the Americans. The Pope's words are:

> To rid himself of repressions, inhibitions and psychic complexes, a man is not free to reveal in himself, for therapeutic ends, each and all of the appetites in the sexual sphere that operate or are made to operate in his being, and flow their impure tides in his unconscious and subconscious. He may not make them the object of his fully conscious representations and desires, with all the disturbances and repercussions that such a procedure involves. For the man and the Christian, there is a law of integrity, of personal purity and self respect that forbids him to plunge himself so totally into the world of sexual representations and tendencies. In this respect, there is a moral limit to the medical and psychotherapeutic interests of the patient.
>
> It has not been proved, indeed it is not true that the pan-sexual method of a certain school of psychoanalysis is an integral, indispensable part of any serious psychotherapy worthy of the name.

Lest this formula seem to provide too wide a loop-hole of permission for non-sexual, or, in the Pope's terms, non-Freudian psychoanalysis, the Pope continued:

> In the field of the instincts, it would be better to give more attention to indirect treatment and to the effect of the conscious psychic apparatus on the ensemble of imaginative and affective activity. This technique avoids the deviations which have been noted. It tends to clarify, heal and guide; it also influences the dynamics of sexuality on which so much stress has been put and which is supposed to be located or even may really be located in the unconscious or the subconscious.

The second specific example was a reference to lobotomy, other forms of surgical intervention in psychic illness and, by implication, shock treatment:

> A man may not undertake or permit medical acts, physical or somatic, which doubtless eliminate serious physical or psychic stains or infirmities, but which at the same time involve a permanent abolition, or a considerable or lasting diminution of liberty, that is to say, of the human personality in its typical and characteristic function. The result is the degradation of man to the level of a being sensitive only to acquired reflexes, or of a living automaton.

Rome PERCY WINNER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STEVENSON SPEAKS

☆

"The Eisenhower Crusade," the New York Times *reported on September 23, "is turning into just another political campaign, featuring all the old platform tricks, all the old debating points, all the old slogans and all the old compromises."*

That confirms merely that Eisenhower is an ordinary man. For the struggle to win votes corrupts all but the best.

Very rarely in American politics the best among us is nominated for the Presidency; one who scorns tricks and compromises; who is contracted to the truth.

Adlai Stevenson is such a man. He set himself the highest standards in accepting the Democratic nomination; not once has he departed from them. His speeches, reprinted here in part, will be studied for their content and passed on before November 4. Long after November they will be treasured as classics in the finest tradition of the United States.

I. FAREWELL TO ILLINOIS

. . . This is the fifth year you have listened to me—an affliction that you have borne with admirable patience and fortitude. The Democratic days at the Fair have been among the proudest moments of my life. **And now I must go away** in quest of an even greater office, and leave behind not only you, my friends, but also my work here in Springfield. It is not easy to say farewell to you or to that work which has been my total life. For all the sweat and tears I have been richly rewarded.

What we set out to do when I first talked to you from this platform as a candidate for Governor in August, 1948, we have done in three and one-half short years. We have eliminated the useless payrollers, put state purchasing on a businesslike basis, enacted a great road-reconstruction program, raised the sights of the Illinois school system, put the state police on a professional non-political basis, taken the Commerce Commission out of politics, put Illinois out in front in the care and treatment of our mental patients, amended the Constitution, extended aid to tuberculosis hospitals, reorganized many aspects of state government, knocked out commercial gambling, enforced the truck-weight laws to protect our highways, instilled a new sense of public responsibility among the state's employees, and I could go on and on. And in contrast to most all the other states, we have not raised taxes for the general purposes of the state.

You will forgive me for hurriedly mentioning these things. I mention them because they, and many others, have meant much to me, and, I think, to our Party. It has been said that perhaps no state in our time has done so much so quickly. . . . But the importance of this work is not measured by my personal interest or satisfaction or by yours. It is important because the states are important. We talk about and deplore incessantly the increasing centralization of power over our lives in Washington. But that tidal drift toward the capital will go on and on unless those necessary functions of government which don't have to be performed in Washington are performed, and properly performed, at the state or local level. The people will demand the services and if they don't get them at home they will turn to Uncle Sam. And every dollar you send to Washington to pay for them will shrink before it gets back home. Because our enemies are big, because business and labor and agriculture are big, because everything is big and organized nowadays, our federal government has inevitably become bigger too. But it should be unencumbered in the discharge of its monstrous major duties by a lot of other jobs it need not do.

Because what we have been doing here in Illinois is im-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portant to our citizens, because it is important to our federal system . . . and because much remains to be done, I had wanted to stay here and have a hand in putting this business of good government on a more permanent basis in Illinois. But I have been assigned another task. . . .

I am about to leave you on a long journey, and the route, by the way, won't be a military or political secret. I intend to cover as much ground as time and strength and our resources permit. And I won't call it a "crusade" to exterminate Republicans. I like a lot of Republicans, even some very new converts to that faith, whatever it is. Indeed there are some Republicans I would trust with anything—anything, that is, except public office. . . .

And before I leave I want to say to you, shamelessly and sentimentally, that my heart will always be here in Illinois. Here five generations of my family have lived and prospered. My roots are deep in our prairies and I owe Illinois a great debt. I have tried my best to discharge that debt honorably and well. But in the process I have only increased my obligations.

Four years ago, when you entrusted me with the reins of state government, I found myself committed to tasks and responsibilities which were new to me and staggering in complexity and magnitude. I have learned more than I can say in these short years. It is easy enough to have bright ideas about the art of civil government in the abstract; but you never really can understand government until you are confronted with the concrete pressures and the day-to-day operating responsibilities. The essence of republican government is not command. It is consent. The experience and training of four years in Springfield has given me a unique opportunity to explore and, I hope, to master in some measure the means by which competing branches of government, competing groups in the community can be brought to common action for the common good. . . . —ILLINOIS STATE FAIR, SPRINGFIELD, AUG. 14.

II. THE GENERAL INTEREST

To Farmers . . . Sound government ends when the leaders of special groups call the tune, whether they represent capital, labor, farmers, veterans, pensioners, or anyone else. . . . The American farmers do not want, nor will they get through any effort of mine, anything more than what is justified by the larger good of the commonwealth. We Americans all stand on the words of the first philosopher of American agriculture, Thomas Jefferson: "Equal rights for all; special privileges for none." . . .—LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—KASSON, MINN.

To Labor . . . You are freeborn Americans—a proud and honorable status, carrying with it the right and the responsibility to make up your own minds. So am I. So if either of us thinks in terms of captivity, let's agree right here and now on a mutual pact of liberation.

The interest and the obligation of the President must be the common interest. His concern for labor, as for industry, is only a part of the common interest. I would intend to honor that office by complete freedom to serve not one man or a few, but the whole Nation. And I think that is precisely what you would want me to do. . . . —DETROIT, MICH., SEPT. 1.

To European-Americans. Many of you here and in other cities across the country have friends and relatives who are suffering under Soviet control behind the Iron Curtain. . . . But I want to make one thing very plain: Even if votes could be won by it, I would not say one reckless word on this matter during this campaign. Some things are more precious than votes.

The cruel grip of Soviet tyranny upon your friends and relatives cannot be loosened by loose talk or idle threats. It cannot be loosened by awakening false hopes which might stimulate action that would only lead your brothers to the execution squads. . . . It cannot be loosed by starting a war which would lead to untold suffering for innocent people everywhere; such a course could liberate only broken, silent, empty lands. . . . —HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN, SEPT. 1.

The American Legion . . . Considering the groups who seek to identify their special interests with the general welfare, I find it sobering to think that their pressure might one day be focused on me. I have resisted them before and I hope the Almighty will give me the strength to do so again and again. And I should tell you now, as I would tell all other organized groups, that I stand to resist pressure from veterans, too, if I think their demands are excessive or in conflict with the public interest, which must always be the paramount interest. . . . —NEW YORK, AUG. 27.

To all voters . . . If your principal interest in life is getting a new federally financed boondoggle for your state you had better vote for somebody else. I've vetoed more appropriations in Illinois than any Governor in our history. . . . This is going to mean no pork-barreling while our economy is in its present condition.—BALTIMORE, SEPT. 13.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

III. THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT

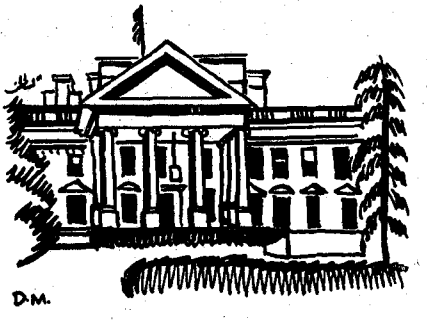
On Corruption . . . I should like to lecture to you a bit about the self-education of voters who want to expiate their sins, if any. I mean if there are any such voters, not sins.

You are not going to clean up crime and corruption until you clean up American civic and political life. And who is going to do that? You are, or it isn't going to be done.

In Illinois, I've moved against the slot-machines and local gambling by using the state police where local officials refused to do their duty. The good people applauded, but they went right on playing the slot-machines in their country clubs, lodges and veterans' posts. . . .

But, my friends, if it is against the law in the corner saloon, it is against the law in the country club, too.

What would you think about the banker who complains when you clean up gambling in his town because it reduces bank deposits? Or the real-estate owner who complains that the tenants don't pay as much rent when the restaurant or tavern on the ground floor has to stop gambling? I've had those experiences and many more besides, including all of the varieties of businessmen who will corrupt a state inspector to disregard some law violation. I can fire the inspector if I can catch him, but I can't fire the businessman.



I am reminded of what Justice Charles Evans Hughes said during the Harding era scandals: He said this: "Neither political party has a monopoly of virtue or of rascality. Let wrong be exposed and punished, but let no partisan pecksniffs affect a 'holier than thou' attitude. Guilt is personal and knows no party."

But there is a great danger in this very healthy public discussion of corruption in government which I hope gentlemen like you do not overlook. The problem of government is the problem of recruiting first-rate personnel . . . just as it is the major problem in your business.

We do not lose faith in the banking system because a few bankers turn out to be embezzlers. When you realize that American private business is swindled out of more than a billion dollars each year by its employees from clerks to executives, it is not too remarkable, however deplorable that government should occasionally be swindled.

For the information of the public and the morale of the multitude of decent, faithful men and women on whom government depends it is just as important to recognize and support the good as it is to root out and punish the bad. It bodes no good for the public service where recruitment is none too easy anyway, what with the salary competition of private business, when honest, conscientious public servants quit because they don't care to be abused any longer.

I'm frank to say I get a little confused about corruption in politics. We tend to think of it as something so simple, in the simple, unsophisticated terms of graft—of cash on the barrelhead. But its forms are many, and I think of another which we witness every day, and to which I have become acutely sensitive in my brief experience in public service. Perhaps the proper description is not "corrupt," but "expedient" for the legislator, be he in Sacramento, in Springfield, Ill., or in Washington, D. C., who will vote for all kinds of special-interest bills to catch or to hold some votes while he prates piously about economy, and indignantly about waste.

Call that what you will, condone it as you please, even profit from it as you do now and then, its cost to you is infinitely greater than all of the thievery and rascality that captures the headlines.

But how about the logrolling, the lobbying for laws or their repeal to serve the interest of some group at the public expense? To catch some votes, or for fear of losing some, many things are done which seem to me hard to distinguish from outright bribery. Yet, we condone the one and condemn the other. I have seen many legislators vote for every appropriation during a legislative session, and against every tax, and babble about economy and fiscal responsibility at the very same time, and so have you.

And, what's more, they will be elected over and over again.

In the last session of my legislature in Illinois I presented a very tight budget that called for no general purpose taxes—tax increases—in spite of all the cost increases in the previous two years. And, I called upon the legislature not to add to that budget without subtracting from it in order to keep it in balance. What do you think they did? They subtracted $300,000 and added $50 million. I hope it isn't indelicate to advise you that it was an overwhelmingly Republican legislature in both houses.

The Republican leader, in that session, sponsored and passed a bill to increase all old-age pension allotments 10 percent automatically, although we have a system of automatic adjustments in accordance with living costs. The cost of that measure we estimated at roughly 14 million, but he made no effort whatever to provide any of the money with which to pay for it. I noted in my veto message that they had omitted from the bill the dependent children and the recipients of general relief—I suppose because they were not organized politically. . . .

Last year I vetoed five of the nine bills passed by the Illinois State Department of the American Legion. I vetoed special-interest bills of all kinds calling for more than $40 million of appropriation. And, I was warned in every case that I would lose the votes of the groups affected.

Well, my friends, I didn't believe it then. I don't believe it now, although if I should return to Los Angeles as a private citizen after the first of the year, I should be glad to have lunch with you again—and eat crow.—LOS ANGELES, CALIF., SEPT. 11.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Government—any government—is not an end in itself. It exists to serve certain human purposes. These purposes should be enlarged only with caution. Indeed, the effort should be always to leave as wide a range of activity as possible in private hands and to keep public intervention as far down the scale and as close as can be to the people governed. What ought to be done by government for the public welfare should be done. There should be no wistful dragging of the feet or turning backward to a dead irrelevant past.

Government should be competent. Its personnel must not be under the heavy hand of purely political selection or influence. It must not be afraid of raising and spending money for worthy purposes, but it must detest and fear waste and dishonesty as ever-present threats to the whole moral basis of government by the consent of the governed. People don't consent voluntarily to being cheated or misused.

Above all, those who hold in their hands the power of government must themselves be independent—and this kind of independence means the wisdom, the experience and the courage to identify the special interests and pressures at work, to see the public interest steadily, to resist its subordination no matter what the political hazards. Actually, I don't think the political hazards are very great because the best government is the best politics, too.—DENVER, COLO., SEPT. 5.

In Government Economy . . . I think this is a time for bare-bone economy and the Republican legislators in Illinois can tell you I mean what I say. . . .

I think the methods we used in Illinois will work in Washington. I want to give you five concrete rules. I emphasize that they require action, not just words.

First, saving money in government requires above everything else, hard-headed, tight-fisted, vigorous leadership—by men who are passionately concerned with getting the job done at the lowest possible cost. . . .

In Washington, civilian leadership is most important in relation to the military, because that is where the great bulk of our tax dollars are spent. . . .

Rule one, then, is to get strong-minded, economy-minded civilians in top jobs. Rule two is to give them the authority to manage their departments efficiently. This means carrying through the work of government reorganization so ably started by the Hoover Commission.

Efficiency in government also requires that we reward people who find ways to save money, and that we promote supervisors on the basis of their ability to get the job done at minimum cost and with the fewest subordinates. I think also we need some improvement in our Civil Service system, to make sure the strong safeguards we need against arbitrary or unfair discharge do not strangle our ability to hold employees to strict standards of efficient performance.

The third method for saving money in Washington is to improve the machinery for scrutinizing appropriations, so that the budget presented by the President and the money bills voted by the Congress will be based on cold fact and not hot air. . . . I have suggested that the President be given the item veto—the power to disapprove individual items in an appropriation bill, without having to veto the entire bill. The President could then wield a sharp scalpel against special interests without bringing the machinery of government to a stop. . . .

A fourth step for saving money is to establish more effective means for controlling expenditures after the Congress votes the money. Here, too, the problem is hardest in the Defense Department, where the need for speed in obtaining results must be constantly balanced against the costs of hurrying.

My fifth method for reducing federal spending requires action not by the federal government but by states and localities and plain, ordinary citizens. We can do much more to make our smaller units of government strong and vigorous and efficient.

In addition, I think it is time for a good deal more self-discipline. . . . Don't do in Washington what can be done in Indianapolis, and don't ask Uncle Sam to bridge Catbird Creek if you can help it.—INDIANAPOLIS, IND., SEPT. 26.

IV. THE FUTURE OF THE SOUTH

. . . Here in Richmond . . . I am moved to talk for a few minutes of the past. This is not an idle task. . . . A great philosopher has said that those who can't remember the past are condemned to live it again.

The South is a good place to take our bearings, because in no part of the country does the past—a past of great nobility and great tragedy—more sharply etch the present than in the South. It is a good place to think of the grim problems of war and peace which weigh so heavily on all of us today. For here we can best learn the lessons suggested by the peace of 1865, made when the great voice of moderation had been stilled. . . .

It took the South decades to recover. . . . But however hard it was to bear at the time, we in the more fortunate present can view it with a semblance of charity. For the Republican leadership did not neglect the South and other Democrats simply because you were Democrats. In its frozen impartiality it also neglected Republican farmers, small businessmen, and working people. Men earned the neglect of the Republican leaders not by their political affiliation, but by being small and poor. . . .

The Republican leadership did not merely treat the South with arrogant and massive neglect. It did more. It shackled the South, and millions outside the South, through its con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trol of Congress; its control of money and banking; its favoritism to powerful interests; its espousal of high tariffs, high interest rates and unfair freight rates.

In the larger sense you became colonials of an empire which, if it was not alien, was at least absentee. Yours was primarily an agricultural economy, depending for cash income largely on cotton and tobacco. Of these you produced far more than could be consumed at home. You paid exorbitant rates of interest for mortgage and crop loans. Nobody consulted you about freight rates. You just paid them. Crops sold for what they would bring, because farmers could not hold them for higher prices. Bitterly they witnessed prices rise only after their crops had gone out of their hands. . . . When you marketed your crops abroad, you sold in free markets for the going price. But when you bought manufactured goods at home, Republican tariffs compelled you to pay through the nose. . . .

The Republicans were still at their old game only a little while ago. . . . Over the protest of more than a thousand American economists, they enacted the Smoot-Hawley tariff that raised rates to an all-time high. I need not tell Virginians, or your tobacco-growing and tobacco-processing neighbors, what that did to tobacco exports. Nor need I remind Southern cotton growers and cotton manufacturers how they were harmed; or say that this tariff was a turning point in precipitating the worldwide depression of the 1930s.

But I am not going to talk about the depression when the average yearly income of the families of one Southern state was $200. I have said—and I repeat—that I am not running against President Hoover. . . . The fact of the matter is, I don't know who I am running against, but I strongly suspect it is Senator Taft after all.

But I most certainly am running against the unchanging and apparently unchangeable attitude of the Republican leadership. Presidents come and go. But attitudes remain. For a political party, as a man, is the sum total of its inheritance, environment, experience and attitudes.

Thus, for example, when the depression was coming on, the Secretary of the Treasury was Andrew Mellon. What was his formula for dealing with the depression? How did he propose to act when the magnificent promise of American life seemed at a shabby and ignominious end? Mr. Hoover, in his recently published memoirs, tells us. It was: "Liquidate labor, liquidate stocks, liquidate the farmers, liquidate real estate." That is certainly one way to deal with a depression—the graveyard way. But somehow the American people were less than enthusiastic about it, and they turned to the Democratic Party which held out the prospect of life and hope.

The Democratic Party of today was born, then, of the sufferings of the people. It is neither all-wise nor all-knowing, for these are not man's gifts, but God's. But it is now—as it always has been—compassionate, merciful, humane; no stranger to human needs, and wants and fears.

The task of striking off the shackles of the South, begun by Woodrow Wilson, has brought you to your rightful place in the Union, not as a matter of charity, not as a sectional matter, but because a happy, purposeful people in a strong, prosperous country is the democratic goal.

Some years ago a famous American critic said that the South was the wasteland of the mind. Yet at that very moment, I am told, so many of your housewives had novels simmering with the soup—among them *Gone With the Wind*—that many husbands had to wait for supper. And men—in an effort perhaps to keep up with their women, among them your own Ellen Glasgow—were writing books and plays, too. So it was that the Nobel prize for literature came to the Mississippian, William Faulkner; a prize that he accepted in an exalted address, extolling the unconquerable spirit of man. . . .

In the course of this resurgence, I hope that it may be possible for us to keep all that was good of the Old South, while embracing all that is good of the New South. . . .

Among the most valuable heritages of the Old South is its political genius, which in many respects was far ahead of its time. Even today some of the finest products of Southern governmental thought are only beginning to win the general acceptance which they have long deserved.

A classic example, it seems to me, is the Constitution of the Confederacy. Scholars of constitutional law have long recognized it as a sound and most thoughtful document. It contained some brilliant innovations, including the so-called item veto—authorizing the President to disapprove individual items in an appropriation bill, without having to veto the entire message. This inspiration of the Confederate statesmen has since been incorporated into the constitutions of about three-fourths of our states, including my own state of Illinois.

Is it too much to hope that the federal government may soon adopt this priceless invention of Southern statesmanship? I hope not, because it is a most useful tool. It has enabled me to veto more appropriations, involving more money, than any Governor in Illinois history. . . .

Just as the governmental contributions of the South sometimes were not fully appreciated in the past, so too, I suspect, some of the problems of the South have not been fully understood elsewhere. One of these is the problem of minorities. . . .

One thing that I have learned is that minority tensions are always strongest under conditions of hardship. During the long years of Republican neglect and exploitation, many Southerners—white and Negro—have suffered even hunger,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the most degrading of man's adversities. All the South, in one degree or another, was afflicted with a pathetic lack of medical services, poor housing, poor schooling, and a hundred other ills flowing from the same source of poverty.

The once low economic status of the South was productive of another—and even more melancholy—phenomenon. Many of the lamentable differences between Southern whites and Negroes, ascribed by insensitive observers to race prejudice, have arisen for other reasons. Here economically depressed whites and economically depressed Negroes often had to fight over already gnawed bones. Then there ensued that most pathetic of struggles: the struggle of the poor against the poor. It is a struggle that can easily become embittered, for hunger has no heart. But, happily, as the economic status of the South has risen, as the farms flourish and in the towns there are jobs for all at good wages, racial tensions have diminished.

In the broad field of minority rights, the Democratic Party has stated its position in its platform; a position to which I adhere. I should justly earn your contempt if I talked one way in the South and another way elsewhere. Certainly no intellectually dishonest Presidential candidate could, by an alchemy of election, be converted into an honest President. . . .

I should like to say a word about the broader aspects of minority rights.

First, I utterly reject the argument that we ought to grant all men their rights just because if we do not we shall give Soviet Russia a propaganda weapon. This concept is itself tainted with Communist wiliness. It insultingly implies that were it not for the Communists we would not do what is right. The answer to this argument is that we must do right for right's sake alone. . . .

Second, I reject as equally contemptible the reckless assertions that the South is a prison in which half the people are prisoners and the other half are wardens. I view with scorn those who hurl charges that the South—or any group of Americans—is wedded to wrong and incapable of right. For this itself is an expression of prejudice compounded with hatred; a poisonous doctrine for which, I hope, there will never be room in our country.

So long as man remains a little lower than the angels, I suppose that human character will never free itself entirely from the blemish of prejudice, religious or racial. . . .

But I do not attempt to justify the unjustifiable, whether it is anti-Negroism in one place, anti-Semitism in another—or for that matter, anti-Southernism in many places. And neither can I justify self-righteousness anywhere. Let none of us be smug on this score, for nowhere in the nation have we come to that state of harmonious amity between racial and religious groups to which we aspire.

The political abuse of the problem of discrimination in employment, the exploitation of racial aspirations on the one hand and racial prejudice on the other—all for votes—is both a dangerous thing and a revolting spectacle in our political life. It will always be better to reason together than to hurl recriminations at one another.—RICHMOND, VA., SEPT. 21.

V. THE STEVENSON PROGRAM

Labor Legislation . . . I suggest five general principles as the basis for a new labor-relations law. I believe they represent the public interest. . . .

Point Number One is that the law must accept labor unions, like employer corporations, as the responsible representatives of their members' interests.

The Taft-Hartley Act assumed that unions could not be trusted to determine whether their members wanted a union shop. After the expenditure of millions of dollars to hold thousands of government-conducted elections—in 95 percent of which the employees voted for the union shop—the Congress last year finally repealed this gratuitous insult to the labor unions.

But the act still prohibits other forms of union-security arrangements developed over many years, by labor and management together, in such cases as the maritime industry, the building trades and the printing trades. The Congress arbitrarily said we know better than unions what is good for employees. The result could have been predicted. Today several thousand employers and several million employees are operating under bootleg agreements in flagrant violation of the statute.

Point Number Two is the other side of point Number One. If labor unions are to be accepted as the full representatives and guardians of employee interests in the collective-bargaining process, then labor unions must conform to standards of fair conduct and equal protection in the exercise of their stewardship.

A few unions, made by law the exclusive representatives of certain groups of employees, abuse that trust by excluding from union membership some who want to work, denying them a vote, denying their seniority rights—because of the color of their skin or because of restrictive notions about employment security.

This is not democracy. Unions which are given powers by government should be open to all on equal terms. . . .

Number Three of my suggestions is that a new federal labor law must outlaw unfair bargaining practices by companies or unions. . . . It is only common sense to acknowledge that we must forbid such practices as jurisdictional strikes, and strikes or boycotts attempting to force an employer to deal with one union when another has been certified as the representative of his employees.

It is equally clear, however, that the prohibitions in the Taft-Hartley Act are so broad and so jumbled as to outlaw proper along with improper conduct—even, on occasion, to require union members to act as strike-breakers. These provisions must be completely rewritten. . . .

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Point Number Four is rejection of the labor injunction. We agreed on this once. In 1932 Congress overwhelmingly passed the Norris-LaGuardia Act to prohibit the labor injunction. The vote was 326 to 14 in the House and 75 to five in the Senate. Then, 15 years later, in the Taft-Hartley Act, the labor injunction—the process of haphazard prejudgment—was disembalmed. No showing of need was made for it. And that tyrannical power to have men and women ordered back to work in smothered silence has no place in today's labor law.

My fifth and last point is that new methods must be found for settling national emergency disputes. We are willing, as a nation, to put up with serious inconveniences when bargaining stalemates result in shutting down production. Collective bargaining is a form of free competition. And, in Justice Holmes' phrase, "free competition is worth more to society than it costs."

We cannot, however, tolerate shutdowns which threaten our national safety, even that of the whole free world. The right to bargain collectively does not include a right to stop the national economy.

The Taft-Hartley answer for this problem is the injunction. All that law boils down to is that in national emergency disputes employees shall be ordered to work for another 80 days on the employers' terms.

This remedy has been administered now nine times. Fair-minded critics have concluded that in only two of these cases did it do the slightest good. In the others it either had no effect at all or actually delayed private settlement.

I have no miracle-drug solution for this problem. I am clear, though, that where the government must intervene in these private disputes, its purpose must be not just to stop the strike, but to see that the dispute gets settled. I am clear, too, that the new law must recognize that these emergency cases are always different. It is a proven mistake for Congress to prescribe in advance the same old patent medicine for all of them.

What we need is a completely new law—one that will provide for investigation and reporting to the public on the issues involved, one that will provide for more effective mediation between the parties. Its purpose should be to keep these cases out of the White House, if possible. But Congress should give to the President a choice of procedures when voluntary agreement proves impossible. . . .

Such a law would leave the obligation to settle these disputes where it belongs—with the parties. But it would not strait-jacket this settlement process.

It would express the firm voice of a nation which demands a fair and quick settlement, and offers constructive help toward a solution. . . . —DETROIT, MICH., SEPT. 1.

Farm Legislation—A society can be no better than the men and women who compose it. The heart of any farm policy must therefore be the life of those who work the farms. Our objective is to make that life full and satisfying . . . This means that farm policy must focus first on the question of farm income. . . .

The way we have chosen to maintain farm income is to support farm prices. Our platform lays this out in clear language. Here is what it says: "We will continue to protect the producers of basic agricultural commodities under the terms of a mandatory price-support program at not less than 90 percent of parity."

There are no ifs, buts or maybes about this. And I think it is a policy that most farmers today understand and believe in. I only wish that everybody understood so well. One place it was clearly not understood was at the great fracas in the Chicago stockyards, two months ago, where one of the casualties was the farm plank in the Republican platform.

As you all know, the Chicago slaughter ended in a cease-fire agreement. According to that agreement—better known as the Republican platform—Republican policy is "aimed"—that is their word—is "aimed" at parity levels. That phrase may have looked good in a smoke-filled room in Chicago. It isn't very clear here in the daylight in Minnesota. There is, and no one should know it better than my distinguished opponent, a vast difference between aiming at a target and hitting it.

How good is their aim anyway? Their sights were a mile off in June of this year when more than half the Republican members of the House voted against the law that extended price support at 90 percent of parity through 1954.

If the Republican candidate says one thing, and the Republican platform says something else, and the Republican members of Congress say still others—how then can anyone tell what a Republican Administration would do? . . .

What the support program does do is to encourage farmers to grow more food. You can now plant crops fairly secure in the knowledge that prices will still be good at market time. That is one reason why farm production has increased almost 50 percent in the last 20 years.

The price-support program is doing a good job for the basic crops—corn, cotton, wheat, rice and the others—for which loan and storage operations are now in effect. . . .

For perishable products, however, such as hogs, dairy products, fruits and vegetables, these loan and storage operations do not work well. Yet these products provide about three-fourths of all the income received by farmers.

Our first line of defense for the producers of perishables is, of course, a strong economic policy that will insure, so far as it is humanly possible to do so, high employment and purchasing power. But behind this there should be protection against unreasonably low prices for those producers of perishables who need it. . . .

Price policy is the heart of the farm program but it is not the whole of it. Farming is a way of using our great inheritance of water and land; and it is a way of life. . . .

. . . Farm ownership and the family farm are the foundation on which our whole agricultural system is built. From 1880 to 1932 we lost ground on farm ownership. In these

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years—years, incidentally, when Republicans were mostly in power and hadn't yet invented that slogan, "It's time for a change"—the proportion of farm owners declined, until by 1932, 43 percent of all farmers—two out of every five—were either tenants or sharecroppers. That trend has now been reversed; three-fourths of our farmers now own their farms. We have recovered, in 20 years, the ground lost in the previous 50.

Things are not yet as they should be. Many young, vigorous and ambitious men would like to become owners of farms. What is more serious, many farmers cannot, with their existing land and equipment, make a decent living from the soil. There is a notion abroad that all farmers are now prosperous. In 1950, more than one million farmers had net incomes from all sources including outside employment of less than $1,000. How can a farmer rear, clothe and educate a family on that? Who can say that such a family shares in the American abundance? . . .

Research, housing and credit programs particularly must be focused on this problem of rural poverty. No one should promise miracles here; but there must be ways to help the industrious small farmer who wants to help himself. That kind of American is a good risk. And no one knows it better than my running mate, Sen. John Sparkman, who has led the battle for them, and who was himself one of 11 children of an impoverished tenant farmer. . . .

Now let us go back to the plowing.—KASSON, MINN., SEPT. 6.

Civil Rights . . . We cannot rest until we honor in fact as well as word the plain language of the Declaration of Independence.

This is our goal. It requires far more than action by government. Laws are never as effective as habits. The fight for equal rights must go on every day in our own souls and consciences, in our schools and our homes, in our factories and our offices—as well as in our city councils, our state legislatures and our national Congress. In this discussion, of all discussions, let us not be self-righteous. Let us work for results, not just empty political advantages. We are dealing here with fundamental human rights, not just votes.

This is a job for the East, the North and the West, as well as for the South. I know. I have been the Governor of a great Northern state. I have had to stop outrages committed against peaceful and law-abiding minorities. I have twice proposed to the legislature a law setting up in our state an enforceable fair-employment-practices commission. I am proud to say that the Democrats in our legislature voted almost solidly for the bill. But I must report in simple truth that the bill was lost in Springfield, Ill., because of virtually solid opposition from the party which claims descent from Abraham Lincoln. All the same, gratifying progress has been made in Illinois toward the elimination of job discrimination by the initiative of business itself. And I would be less than fair if I didn't acknowledge it gratefully.

In saying this is not a sectional problem, I do not mean to say that there is no particular problem in the South. Of course there is a problem in the South. In many respects the problem is more serious there than elsewhere. But just as it is chastening to realize our own failures and shortcomings in the North, so it is both just and hopeful to recognize and admit the great progress in the South. Things are taking place in the South today that would have seemed impossible only a few years ago. In the last two years alone 10 state universities have admitted Negro students for the first time to their graduate and professional schools. And that is only one of many examples that could be cited of the wonders that are working in the South. . . .

I have often affirmed my belief in strong state and local administration. I believe . . . that affirmative state government can rise to meet many pressing social problems and can thereby arrest the trend toward over-centralized federal power. In Illinois I have worked to make the state government responsive to the needs of the people so that it would not be necessary for them to turn to Washington for help. . . . In the case of equal opportunity for employment, I believe that it is not alone the duty but the enlightened interest of each state to develop its own positive employment-practices program—a program adapted to local conditions, emphasizing education and conciliation, and providing for enforcement. This is the kind of law I proposed in Illinois. . . .

But our platform favors federal legislation—particularly, I assume, when states fail to act and inequalities of treatment persist. The problem, of course, is what kind of legislation.

Personally I have been very much impressed by a bill reported favorably by the Senate Labor Committee. Only three members opposed it, one of whom was Sen. Richard Nixon. . . .

It encourages the Federal Commission to stay out of any state with an effective commission; by the same token, however, it encourages the states to act because, if they do not, the national government has the power to do so. The bill requires the Federal Commission to undertake a non-partisan and nationwide educational program, to proceed by very careful deliberation and full and fair hearings. Enforcement would be by order of a court, not an administrative body.

You know as well as I do that we have reached a sort of legislative stalemate in this field in the Congress. In so far as this is due to real, legitimate objections to the substance of the legislation, I think this Senate bill goes a very long way toward meeting such objections. It may be that it can be improved still further, especially in the direction of giving the states a reasonable time in which to act.

In so far as the present stalemate is due to misuse of the processes of deliberation and debate in Congress, the problem is somewhat different.

I believe firmly in the principle stated in our platform—the principle that majority rule shall prevail, after reasonable debate, in both houses of our Congress. And from my experiences with the practical workings of representative gov-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ernment, I would interpret "reasonable" very liberally, because the majority can be tyrannical too. . . .

The precise nature of the changes that should be made in the present rules of Congress, is of course, a problem for the Congress itself, for each House, under our Constitution, makes its own rules for doing business. As President I could not make the decision, but I could and would use whatever influence I may have to encourage the Congress to shake off its shackles.

I would urge in these fields and in many others that affect national policy, that all of us resolve to take a fresh look. There has been too much freezing of positions, too much emotion, too many dogmatic statements of irrevocable attitudes. We are dealing with human situations, with human emotions, with human intelligence; our purpose must be to reason together for the common betterment of us all; our interest must be, not in controversy, but in results. . . . —NEW YORK, N. Y., AUG. 29.

Atomic Energy . . . Winston Churchill said that Western Europe would probably have been overrun by now if we had not had atomic weapons. Yet there has always seemed to me a danger in making the atomic bomb the center of our defense strategy. The bomb is but one part of a general system. It cannot be a substitute for such a general system. . . . Until it is subjected to safe international control, we have no choice but to insure our atomic superiority. . . .

Because our government knew the futility of the arms race, it made its great decision to seek an international system for the control of atomic power. . . . Unfortunately, as we all know, the Soviet Union has thus far refused to join in a workable system . . . so the negotiations have long been deadlocked, and, in irritation and disgust, some of us have rebelled against the whole idea of negotiation itself. Some of us have even felt that our possession of the bomb makes negotiation unnecessary; and if our Allies are alarmed by our uncompromising attitude, so much the worse for them. When we have the bomb as our ally, some of us may say, we need no other.

Such ideas are folly. If we started throwing our atomic weight around the world, no stockpile of bombs could remotely make up for all the friends we would lose. And the irony is that it is our Allies which make our atomic strength effective. We built the bomb with the help and co-operation of foreign scientists. Our atomic production program today depends on foreign supplies of uranium. Our air power would be gravely crippled without foreign bases. Even in terms of the bomb itself, going it alone would be a short cut to national disaster. . . .

We must strive constantly to break the deadlock in our atomic discussions. But we can never yield on the objective of securing a fool-proof system of international inspection and control. And we will never confuse negotiation with appeasement.—HARTFORD, CONN., SEPT. 18.

VI. ON THE ROAD

. . . Somebody has been asking me how I was feeling and it reminded me of a story of a man who was shot in the back by Indians in an attack on a wagon train out in this country in the early days, and some time later, he was discovered by some troopers that came along and were scratching in the ashes of this miserable disaster and they found the poor man unconscious with three arrows between his shoulder blades. They revived him with whiskey on his lips, and when he could whisper, they said, "Why, it must hurt awfully," and he said:

"It sure does, especially when I laugh." . . . ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., SEPT. 12.

. . . Someone asked me the other day what I thought the main difference between the Republican and Democratic platforms was.

The answer is easy. The difference is this:

The Republican Presidential candidate always tries to run on the Democratic platform. But you will never, never find a Democratic Presidential candidate trying to run on the Republican platform. . . . —PHOENIX, ARIZ., SEPT. 12.

On the Press . . . In my new role in life, I can't help noticing from time to time—I want to put it as delicately as I can—that the overwhelming majority of the press . . . is just against Democrats. And it is against Democrats, so far as I can see, not after a sober and considered review of the alternatives, but automatically, as dogs are against cats. As soon as a newspaper sees a Democratic candidate it is filled with an unconquerable yen to chase him up an alley. . . .

I am in favor of a two-party system in politics. . . . But I am in favor of a two-party system in our press, too. And I am, frankly, considerably concerned when I see the extent to which we are developing a one-party press in a two-party country.

I earnestly wish that the newspapers so highly agitated over the two-party system in politics would contemplate the very real dangers of the one-party system in the press. I don't say this because of any concern over the coming election. My party has done all right in recent elections in spite of the country's editorial pages, and I have a hunch we will do all right this year too.

But, as an ex-newspaper man and a citizen, I am gravely

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

concerned about the implications of this one-party system for our American press and our free society.

A free society means a society based on free competition and there is no more important competition than in ideas, competition in opinion. This form of competition is essential to the preservation of a green press. Indeed, I think the press should set an example to the nation in increasing opposition to uniformity.

. . . We need to work harder for the time when all editors will honor their profession, when all publishers will have a sense of responsibility equal to their power and thus regain their power, if I may put it that way.

It's not honest convictions honestly stated that concern me. Rather it is the tendency of many papers, and I include columnists, commentators, analysts, feature writers, and so on, to argue editorially from the personal objective, rather than from the whole truth. As the old jury lawyer said: "And these, gentlemen, are the conclusions on which I base my facts." . . .

What I am saying, in short, is that the press cannot condemn demagoguery, claptrap, distortion and falsehood in politicians and public life on the one hand and practice the same abuses on the public themselves, on the other.—PORTLAND, ORE., SEPT. 8.

On Taft-Hartley . . . The Republicans insist that the real issue here is whether the Taft-Hartley law should be "amended" or "repealed." This is not the real issue. The real issue is what changes should be made in the law of the United States.

But, if repeal were in itself the issue, I would remind Senator Taft that he himself has publicly recognized 23 mistakes in his favorite law, and it seems not unreasonable to recommend that a tire with 23 punctures and five blowouts . . . needs junking and not a recap job—especially a recap job with reclaimed Republican rubber. . . . —NEW YORK, SEPT. 22.

VII. THE MEANS TO PEACE

. . . **Across the continent** of Asia more than a billion of the world's peoples are churning in one of history's greatest upheavals. The causes behind that upheaval are many and varied. But there is nothing complicated about what the people want. They want a decent living—and they want freedom.

The word used most frequently by Asians to describe their aspirations is nationalism. Nationalism to Asians means a chance to stand on their own feet, a chance to govern themselves, a chance to develop their resources for their own welfare, and a chance to prove that the color of their skin has nothing to do with their right to walk with self-respect among their fellowmen in the world. It means the end of a legalized inferiority. It means pride, spirit, faith.

This type of nationalism is not inconsistent with closer co-operation among nations nor with the need for an enforceable peace. . . .

The strategy of Communism in Asia is to pose as the champion—the only champion—of the Asian peoples. Communism has not created the causes or the forces behind Asia's vast upheaval. It is attempting to give direction to those forces, it seeks to impose its own label on the multiple revolutions going on in Asia today by identifying itself with the deeply felt needs and hopes of the Asian peoples. It constantly proclaims its sympathy for the goals of national liberation and independence. It promises human and social equality. It offers two bowls of rice a day where now there is one or none. It offers land to those who work the land.

There is an important difference between Communism as we view it and Communism as some of the Asian people view it. When we think of Communism we think of what we are going to lose. When many of the Asian peoples think of Communism they think of what they are going to gain—especially if they believe they have nothing to lose.

It is important that we know these things and think about them, for we shall never be able to cope with Communism unless we understand the basis of its appeal. The Communists have failed to incite the workers to revolution in Western Europe. They have failed to turn the Western Allies one against the other. But the Communists may well believe that in the aspirations and grievances of the East they now have the key to world power.

In Korea we took a long step toward building a security system in Asia. As an American I am proud that we have the courage to resist that ruthless, cynical aggression; and I am equally proud that we have had the fortitude to refuse to risk extension of that war despite extreme Communist provocations and reckless Republican criticisms. Whatever unscrupulous politicians may say to exploit grief, tragedy and discontent for votes, history will never record that Korea was a "useless" war, unless today's heroism is watered with tomorrow's cowardice.

This defensive effort in Korea and elsewhere in Asia is building a shield behind which we have the opportunity to assist in the other great task—the task of development.

Listening to the debate over China this past year, I had the distinct impression at times that the very Congressmen whose vocal chords were most active in the cause of isolation and against foreign entanglements were the same ones who were now talking as if they had wanted us to take part in a civil war in China.

The time to stop a revolution is at the beginning, not the end. But I don't recall any pleas from these critics for help

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for Sun Yat-sen and Chinese democracy back in the twenties. Nor did I hear them demanding intervention by the US in the mid-thirties when civil war with the Communists broke out. Indeed it was not until quite recently, when the Chinese wars were about over, that there was even an audible whisper that we help fight in hindsight war, that we should have given more help to China than we did. It would seem to me that the Republican critics could better demonstrate the good faith of their concern for Asia by doing something about India today rather than talking about China yesterday. Tearful and interminable post mortems about China will save no souls for democracy in the rest of Asia, the Near East and Africa.

India is not caught up in civil strife. It can be helped in a way that is natural to us and best for it: help in the ways of peace and social progress. India has to grow more food. It has to restore its land. It needs new resources of power. In short, it needs a Democratic helping hand in the development programs it has already charted. The same is true in many other countries.

It is help of this kind that we can provide by sending agricultural experts, engineers and other trained people to these countries, and through programs of assistance to economic development. By working with each country to expand the production of goods which are needed by other countries in the region, a self-generating and self-financing cycle of trade and development can be initiated, which will reduce and can eventually eliminate the need for American aid. At the same time, we can enlarge our export markets, and develop new sources of the products we need to import. . . . By friendly advice and counsel we can help to guide this economic development in ways which will give powerful support to democratic political institutions.

These programs are in accordance with our best traditions. . . . America will never seek to dominate their political and economic development. We will not try to make their societies over in the image of our own. On the contrary, we respect the integrity of their institutions and the rich values of their cultures. . . .

These programs are primarily concerned with the material needs and wants of individual men and women. Yet we do not make the mistake of believing that the answer to Communist materialism is a different brand of materialism. The answer to Communism is, in the old-fashioned phrase, good works—inspired by love and dedicated to the whole man. The answer to the inhumanity of Communism is humane respect for the individual and Asians desire not only to rise from wretchedness of the body but from abasement of the spirit.

In other words, we must strive for a harmony of means and ends in our relations with Asia—and indeed with the rest of the world. The means of our co-operation are primarily material. If we believe the Communist threat to Asia is dangerous to us, then it is, in our own self-interest, to help them defend and develop, adjusting our policies to the constantly changing circumstances in a world of accelerating change. But we must not, in our necessary concern for the urgent tasks of defense and development, permit the means to obscure the end. That end is the widening and deepening of freedom and of respect for the dignity and worth of man.—SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., SEPT. 9.

On Communism . . . What is the nature of the threat which Communism brings to the free world? It is the threat of an all-powerful state dedicated to the extinction of individual dignity and individual freedom. . . . Communism is the death of the soul. It is the organization of total conformity—in short, tyranny—and it is committed to making tyranny universal.

Now, this makes it, first of all, an external threat. . . . How do we counter this external threat of Communism . . . by increasing the strength and the unity of the free world. . . .

But the building of free world strength does more than just restrain Soviet aggression. Its effect is to make the free world itself—both because of its freedom and because of its strength—a potent counter-attraction to Soviet power. And the emergence of this world, united, powerful, friendly and free, will exert an over-increasing influence on the captive states within the Soviet Empire. . . .

But we would err, certainly, if we regarded Communism as merely an external threat. Communism is a great international conspiracy and the United States has been for years a major target of that conspiracy. Communist agents have sought to steal our scientific and military secrets, to mislead and corrupt our young men and women, to infiltrate positions of power in our schools and colleges, in business firms and in labor unions and in the government itself. At every turn they have sought to serve the purposes of the USSR.

And to those who, in the service of the Soviet Union, would commit acts prejudicial to the safety and security of the United States, I would say: Under me as President of the United States, federal agencies will deal sternly and mercilessly with all who would betray their country and their freedom for the sake of manacles and chains.

There is only one way for a free society to deal with this internal threat, and that is through the processes of justice. . . . —ALBUQUERQUE, N. MEX., SEPT. 12.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Foreign Policy. One lesson which I had hoped that most of us learned from the past is an understanding of what the present threat to our freedom really is. I thought that my distinguished opponent, of all Americans, would agree that this threat is the threat of World Communism.

It is surely fundamental to the making of wise policies to decide whether the threat to the US is internal or external. Either the threat to our security is world Communism or it is not. This is surely more than the differences of degree which, according to Senator Taft's statement following the Peace Conference on Morningside Heights, are all that separate him from the General on foreign-policy matters.

It is not a question of degree whether we measure our defense by an arbitrary budget or measure our budget by the needs of survival. If we should follow out this theory that the threat is internal, we would undertake the deliberate and systematic weakening of ourselves and our allies. And such a policy of national weakness and international weakness can lead to a single result: That is, to invite the expansion of Soviet power. . . .

My opponents say the threat to our liberty comes from within. I say that the threat comes from without—and I offer the fate of the enslaved peoples of the world as my evidence.

My opponents say America cannot afford to be strong.

I say that America cannot afford to be weak.

I promise no easy solutions, no relief from burdens and anxieties, for to do this would be not only dishonest, it would be to attack the foundations of our greatness.

I can offer something infinitely better: An opportunity to work and sacrifice that freedom may flourish. For, as William James truly said:

"When we touch our own upper limit and live in our own highest center of energy, we may call ourselves saved." . . .—LOUISVILLE, KY., SEPT. 27.

VIII. FAITH IN THE FREE MIND

. . . The Wisconsin idea—the faith in the free mind and in the application of reason to government—was one of the hopeful ideas of our century. Today we find that idea everywhere under attack. Throughout the world, the whole conception of the free intellectual community is menaced by those who fear freedom more than they love it. As darkness falls upon this earth, the area of freedom shrinks. New philosophies arise—new theories of the state—which recoil from freedom, detest it, exterminate it, and seek to found new societies upon its extermination.

In the Soviet Union we see the totalitarian state in its gloomy reality. The first casualty of the Communist regime is the free mind, and, once the free mind disappears, all else must follow. Thus in Soviet Russia today the last trace of freedom has been extinguished. Not only history and economics and politics but science and art and music are enslaved by the regime. The unorthodox experiment, the unacceptable melody, the extreme painting, become evidence of disloyalty. Unorthodoxy is treason to the state.

This process reaches its grim climax, of course, in the Soviet courts. Here injustice, wearing the gowns of justice, stages the last act of the cruel joke. Men are accused at random of infamous and fantastic charges; they are transformed into enemy agents, spies, traitors; documents are misrepresented and falsified; past associations are uncovered and distorted, past remarks torn from context; guilt comes in the end, not just by association, but by accusation. And triumphant above all rises the figure of the great accuser whose word can brand men's lives, make falsehood true, create evidence where none existed before, and spread through all society the reign of suspicion and terror.

Because we believe in the free mind, we are opposing Communism with all our will. We are opposing it abroad, where its relentless pressure seeks further to narrow the area of freedom. We are opposing it at home, where its agents and its dupes seek to undermine our society and strangle our freedom in its own paradoxes.

As President, I would use all the power of the federal government to expose and identify Communist activity, to remove Communists and their tools from places of position and prestige in our society and to protect our free institutions from Communist espionage, sabotage and subversion. It is because the Democratic Party believes in fighting Communism that this administration has established a loyalty system in our federal government, has indicted and convicted the Communist leaders and spies and has exposed Communist influence and activity in our national life.

But, because we believe in the free mind, we are also fighting those who, in the name of anti-Communism, would assail the community of freedom itself. The liberties of expression and conscience are the basic liberties of American society. They are sustained by our whole structure of law and justice. That structure has sufficed for us in the great crises of our past. I see nothing in the future which requires us to throw it overboard now.

I would call to your mind the words of a great Republican patriot, Theodore Roosevelt: "No greater harm can be done to the body politic," Theodore Roosevelt said, "than by those men who, through reckless and indiscriminate accusation of good men and bad men, honest men and dishonest men alike, finally so hopelessly puzzle the public that they do not believe that any man in public life is entirely straight; while, on the other hand, they lose all indignation against the man who really is crooked."

And in case you have not been reading all the philosophers, I remind you that Aristotle said: "History shows that almost all tyrants have been demagogues who gained favor with the people by their accusations of the notables." Way back there!

Disturbing things have taken place in our own land. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pillorying of the innocent has caused the wise to stammer and the timid to retreat. I would shudder for this country if I thought that we, too, must surrender to the sinister figure of the inquisition, of the great accuser. I hope that the time will never come in America when charges are taken as the equivalent of facts, when suspicions are confused with certainties, and when the voice of the accuser stills every other voice in the land.

So long as America is populated by Americans, this can never be the case. We shall defend the free mind and the free spirit, as we always have in the past. We love and cherish the light of freedom. We will not be stampeded into the dark night of tyranny. With faith in our great heritage of individual freedom, we can—and will—keep America the land of the free.

This challenge to freedom has its compensations. It has forced us to redefine our own values. It has made us restate the ideal of freedom for the complex industrial society of the twentieth century. And the process of redefinition and restatement—for most of us, anyway—has only strengthened our faith in the durability of free society. . . .

We are hearing a lot today about American division, weakness, hesitation, fear. Some, perhaps, find it politically profitable to cultivate the vineyards of anxiety. I would warn them lest they reap the grapes of wrath. I believe that our people have begun to tire of hearing how weak they are, how feeble is their faith, how urgent it is to limit and surrender their freedom. I would say: Enough of this weakness and cowardice.

The experience of the past two decades has forged a new American will. We are no longer that fat and complacent nation which fell into the pit of depression and lay for a season in bewildered impotence. We have conquered fear. We have climbed out of the pit of depression. We have discovered within ourselves a new patience, a new self-discipline, and a new serenity in the face of crisis. We have begun to build a new nation for ourselves and our children. . . .

I have said elsewhere in the campaign that this election is a struggle between accusation and fear, and confidence and faith. I say to you today that we need not dwell in fear. We have shown in these 20 years the mighty things we are capable of—if we but maintain faith in ourselves, in our heritage of liberty, and in the invincibility of free men.

Fear begets fear, as faith begets faith. My party knows where it has been and where it is going. The opposition doesn't like the road we have traversed and is sharply divided about the road ahead. The future stretches ahead, untrodden and uncharted—but ours to take and to master. The future is mostly yours and the roads yours to choose.—MADISON, WIS., OCT. 7.

. . . I want, and I think you do, to pay the taxes which are the price of fighting Communism where it is spread by Russian warlords. I want, and I think you do, to spend what is necessary to fight Communism by building up the economic and military strength of our European allies and fatherlands. I would rather buy insurance than a new house. I intend to continue rooting out of government, and keeping out of government, every person of doubtful loyalty. I disagree squarely, however, with those who think the way to do this is by firing a sawed-off shotgun into a whole group of public servants if there is a rumor that one among them is evil.

I agree completely with the Roman Catholic Bishops of the US in their pronouncement last November: "Dishonesty, slander, detraction and defamation of character are as truly transgressions of God's commandments when resorted to by men in political life as they are for all other men."

I believe we can and will guarantee our internal security not by scatter-shooting, but by sharp-shooting. I know that in the Federal Bureau of Investigation we have the precision weapon to do the job. . . . And I doubt very much whether the Republican candidate has any new tricks up his sleeve. . . . —MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCT. 9.

IX. THE BEGINNING AND THE END

. . . The Republican leadership is now telling us that the danger to this nation is from within, not from without, that danger lies not in Moscow but in Washington; your enemy is not Joseph Stalin but Harry Truman or even possibly Adlai Stevenson.

A campaign addressed not to men's minds and to their best instincts but to their passions, emotions and prejudices is unworthy at best. Now, with the fate of the nation at stake it is unbearable.

With the darkest evil and the mightiest force ever gathered on earth arrayed against us and our friends this is no time for such talk.

It is not for me to stand in judgment upon the men who pervert the truth and say such things, but for your sake and for mine, for the sake of my sons and your children and the future of millions of our friends overseas, and for those who languish in prison behind the Iron Curtain, we must know the truth and come to grips with the facts of life, look them in the face and stare them down—and so doing, triumph over them.

We are not, I take it, a race of whimpering weaklings who can't face the truth, but a race of men and women proud, courageous and unafraid. . . .

The Republican leadership blows thin drafts of crafty words down your neck, but it fails to tell you the following things: 85 percent of the federal budget goes for past wars and for preserving our present and our future liberty. The world has been at war almost continuously now for 40

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

years. The intervals between the wars grow shorter. The wars increase in dimensions and in destructiveness. The last war was man's first true World War.

The revolutions of our times are men's first world revolutions. Their flames burn from one end of the globe to the other. The intercontinental airplane makes counties of continents—it makes lakes of oceans. In the words of the song, there's no hiding place down there.

Much of mankind is changing its entire outlook upon the world. Whatever was, is cast out—whatever is is questioned. Mankind in its hundreds of millions is on the march toward what goal and with what destruction on the way no man can foretell. Whole nations have sunk out of sight behind Iron Curtains; whole peoples have disappeared from view.

Today there is less communication between the great groups of man than there was in the roadless world of a thousand years ago.

We can no more communicate with half of mankind than we can raise the dead. For the while the anti-Christ stalks the earth, organized Communism seeks even to dethrone God from His central place in this universe. It attempts to uproot everything, everywhere it goes, to degenerate the restraining influence of religion, of love and of peace. One by one the lamps of civilization go out and nameless horrors are perpetrated in darkness.

All this is done by an enemy of a kind that we have never faced before. He is primitive, but he is also advanced. He goes with a piece of black bread in his hand, but in his mind he carries the awful knowledge of atomic energy. He is careful, cool, calculating and he counts time, not impatiently like we do, not by the clock, but by decades, in terms of centuries.

Much of what he is trying to do today his ancestors were attempting to do 400 years ago. The problem that they tortured convulsive humanity staggered the imagination. Unprecedented times demand of us unprecedented behavior.

The task that confronts us will try our soul, it will exact a high price in discipline of mind and of austerity of spirit. It will determine whether we are worthy of our high place in the world. Whether we are worthy of our forefathers who converted a wilderness into a country, fair and free. . . .

Long ago we asserted a great principle upon this continent. That men are, and of right ought to be, free. Now we are called upon to defend that right against the mightiest forces of evil ever assembled under the sun.

This is, therefore, a time to think, it is a time to feel, it is a time to pray, we shall need all the resources of the stubborn mind, the stout heart, the soul refreshed, in the task that confronts us.

It is the most awesome task any people has ever faced, for we have become the leader, and the mainstay, one of the great wings of humanity in conflict with another wing of humanity. As such we must play the principal part in saving ourselves, our friends and our civilization.

Whose task is this? It is inescapably your task. You, and you alone, will decide the fate of your family and your country for decades to come. You will decide whether you are to be slaves or free. To live gloriously or perish miserably. You may seek comfort at the feet of false leaders, who, like medicine doctors, beat drums to ward off evil spirits. You may listen to false leaders, who tell you that there is an easy way—that all you have to do is to elect them and thereafter relax in a tax-free paradise—the political equivalent of sending 10 cents to cover the cost of postage. You may, fearing to face the facts squarely, be distracted by phony issues that have no bearing upon life or death controversy of our time. But deluded you run the risk of being beguiled to destruction, for there is no easy way.

There is the lesson of history and of all human experience—struggle is the primary law of life. You struggle and you survive. You fail to struggle and you perish. The ways of the world are marked with the bones of people who hesitated.

Your salvation is in your own hands. In the stubbornness of your mind. The tenacity of your heart. And such blessings as God, thoroughly tried by His children, shall give us. Nature is indifferent to the survival of the human species, including Americans.

I repeat, then, that the task is yours. Yours is a democracy. Its government cannot be stronger or more tough-minded than its people. It cannot be more inflexibly committed to the task than they. It cannot be wiser than the people.

As citizens of this democracy, you are the rulers and the ruled. The lawgivers and the law abiding. The beginning and the end. Democracy is a high privilege, but it is also a heavy responsibility whose shadow stalks, although you may never walk in the sun.

I say these things to you, not only because I believe them to be true, but also because, as you love your country, I love my country. And I would see it endure and grow in light and become a living testament to all mankind—of goodness and of mercy, and of wisdom.

If telling you the truth about the world as I see it should cause you to cast me down and revile me, and with me the Democratic Party, I should still tell you the truth as I see it, for no office within your gift—including the Presidency itself—is worth the price of deception, thus bringing this Nation to the brink of destruction. I say we must know the truth, for the truth alone will make us free. What American is content to chew the cud of comfort in fancied security? What American, I ask you, blessed as no other man in history, would blind himself to the ancient wisdom—that wisdom which tells us that much shall be asked of him to whom much is given? . . . —TV-RADIO SPEECH, CHICAGO, SEPT. 29

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MILITARY CIVIL RIGHTS: A REPORT

by Harry Conn

FOUR YEARS ago, on July 26, 1948, President Truman issued his Executive Order 9981, directing "as rapidly as possible" a policy establishing "equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, religion or national origin."

This year, in the heat of another election, an accounting to the American people on the effectiveness, sincerity and execution of this directive seems in order since civil rights is a major issue in the campaign.

An Executive Order to wipe out, in our armed service what has been accepted as standard within military units and in many communities over the land, had all the appearances of an extreme act. Four years ago the entire concept of integrating whites and Negroes in our armed forces was roundly denounced by many politicians and top military brass among them the Republican Presidential nominee, Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Today the entire atmosphere has undergone a startling and refreshing change. Not one top military official will fundamentally question the policy of integration. Everyone will tell you that it has immeasurably bolstered the morale of our fighting forces, increased their efficiency and has been successful. Even Southern Congressmen have no desire to make an issue of it, and General Eisenhower now accepts it.

The change didn't just happen. The President's order paved the way, but it has taken intelligence, hard work, ingenuity and sheer force to overcome those who would evade or oppose it. Prejudice is no more easily eradicated in our military than in our civilian population. Yet, progress has been made, basic progress.

"Integration," James C. Evans, top civilian assistant to the Secretary of Defense and monitor of the program, reports, "is now over the hump. We still have some obstacles but the rest of the program is proceeding routinely." He estimates that, percentagewise, the program is now four-fifths effective, at least from the physical standpoint of segregation and discrimination. Psychologically, Evans believes, two-thirds of our fighting men are convinced of the justification of integration and fully accept it. The one-third is a rapidly diminishing figure. For the first time the program has actually reached a point where the Pentagon wants publicity on it.

The Navy, with its traditional caste system, has been the hardest to crack. Among enlisted seamen in general-service work the integration program has been most successful. But the stewards branch of the Navy remains the worst spot. There is not one white seaman in stewards work today, and 44 percent of all Negro enlisted seamen are in this branch. Of course, there is no regulation which states that white men cannot be assigned to the stewards branch, but it just doesn't happen. Six were so assigned last year but it proved unsatisfactory.

Lt. Donald Nelson, who rides herd on the integration program, doesn't try to obscure this problem. He feels that the fault lies at the recruiting and procurement level. When there are only openings in the stewards branch Negro volunteers are immediately signed up while white volunteers are usually advised to wait until there is an opening in general service. If the top Navy so desired, proper policing could halt this.

This may explain, in part, why the Navy, made up of volunteers, is about 2.5 percent Negro while the other services are closer to 10 percent. Yet, 56 percent of all Negroes in the Navy today are in branches other than stewards in contrast to only 5 percent in 1945.

The low percentage of Negro officers in the Navy, just as its low enlisted rate, actually is a product of the Navy's reputation for a caste system. Negroes just don't apply. One of Lieutenant Nelson's major responsibilities is to "sell" the benefits of Navy enlistments to Negroes. He insists that their opportunities are better in the Navy than any other branch. He believes that, aside from the stewards branch, the Navy has acted more in spirit with the President's order than any other service.

NEGRO SERVICEMEN SINCE 1939

	Total	*Negroes*
ARMY		
1939—(Also Air Force)		
	189,839 (EM)	4,500 (EM)
	14,486 (O)	5 (O)
1949—	660,473 (EM)	71,189 (EM)
	77,272 (O)	1,173 (O)
1952—	1,558,000 (EM)	180,000 (EM) Est.
	142,800 (O)	10,000 (O) Est.
AIR FORCE		
1949—	419,347 (EM)	21,086 (EM)
	57,851 (O)	316 (O)
1952—	973,350 (EM)	60,295 (EM)
	129,350 (O)	830 (O)
NAVY		
1939—	125,202 (EM)	4,500 (EM)
	12,023 (O)	0 (O)
1949—	449,575 (EM)	17,460 (EM)
	47,975 (O)	8 (O)
1952—	820,000 (EM)	24,000 (EM)
	83,000 (O)	60 (O)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Few people know that one of the principal pioneers in the original effort for integration in the Navy was Adlai Stevenson. In 1942, he came to Washington as assistant to Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox and Stevenson's urgings were greatly responsible for Knox's decision to open general-service classifications to Negroes, although he still balked at actually wiping out segregation. When James A. Forrestal succeeded Knox, Stevenson was given the green light to establish an integration program. The early orders carried the signature of Forrestal, but they were largely the work of Stevenson.

Other Navy secretaries have carried on this work. But now there is some concern because the present secretary, Dan A. Kimball, has upheld the use of segregated facilities for Negro and white civilian employees on Navy bases at Norfolk, Va., and Charleston, S. C. There are indications that this practice may spread to other bases. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has formally protested Kimball's stand to the White House, and a decision is promised soon.

The obstacles to integration faced by the Army differed from those of the Navy more in size than in tradition. There were Negroes in all branches, but they were segregated and totally about 9 to 10 percent. Most of them were in heavy-duty jobs, combat and combat-support units. The Army was reluctant to break up complete units and, with so much of its personnel concentrated in the South, moved painfully slow.

In 1949, the President's Committee on Equality of Treatment in the Armed Services, headed by Charles A. Fahey, reported that out of 490 active occupation specialties, 198 had no authorizations at all for Negroes while many other classifications had a 10 percent Negro quota. On March 27, 1950, however, the Army officially wiped out quotas, announcing to all commands that "effective with the month of April all enlistments in the Army within over-all recruiting quotas will be open to qualified applicants without regard to race and color."

Actually the Army first made integration work in Korea, tested by fire. It was no movement for social reform. Mixed units of white and colored simply proved to be stronger than segregated teams. Today the Far East is considered almost completely integrated. There is still to come, though very little, integration in Europe. But considerable work remains to be done with units at home.

Among the Army's basic-training units integration is now universal. There are 10 basic-training divisions in the United States, accounting for 22 percent of the total personnel in the country. Pentagon officials feel that with both trainees and experienced troops integrated they are "squeezing" the program into the middle groups.

After the President's order in 1949, the Air Force may be credited with taking the most immediate and decisive steps to end segregation in its ranks. W. Stuart Symington, now Democratic nominee for the Senate from Missouri, was then Secretary of the Air Force. He promptly directed major commands to utilize all Negro personnel on the basis of individual capacities. Early directives did limit skilled classifications to 10 percent Negro, but this policy was later discarded.

The Air Force was the first service to notify the Fahey Committee that it was prepared to stand a thorough field investigation as the results of the integration program. In January, 1950, the Fahey Committee did conduct such an investigation of seven major air bases. It found only one segregated unit. In the six Air Force technical schools, Negro enlisted students at that time comprised 6.5 percent of the total enlisted enrollment as compared to an over-all enlisted strength of 7.2 percent.

On January 31, 1950, the Committee reported that the Air Force had 25,351 Negro enlisted men and 351 officers. The breakdown of Negro assignment by unit follows:

Negroes in predominately Negro units	4,404
Negroes in non-integrated Army units assigned to A.F.	2,369
Negroes in mixed units	11,611
Negroes in "pipeline"	7,318

No later breakdown figures are available. However, it is known that the Negroes in the "pipeline" have been moved almost entirely to integrated units. Since the Air Force moved from being approximately 50 percent integrated in 1949 to being 74 percent integrated eight months later, Air Force spokesmen may be believed in saying that its program is largely completed.

The evaluation of integration in all three services as "over the hump" seems fair, although the program is certainly not completed. However, even the ever vigilant National Association for the Advancement of Colored People says that it is moving along satisfactorily. The NAACP does seek revision and change, but it is usually where one or a small group have been treated contrary to the spirit and intent of the President's Order.

A very high official in the Department of Defense who has followed the progress of the program closely has made what is probably the strongest statement in acclaiming it: "After the politics have died down," he said, "and enough time has elapsed for the American people honestly to appreciate the Presidential Order and its end result, it will rank second only to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

MOSTLY RUMOR

by Joseph Frank

BERNARD BERENSON is the celebrated specialist on Italian Renaissance painting whose authority on questions of authenticity and attribution have now become legendary. As a refined and highly trained sensibility in his own special area, Berenson is unquestionably without a peer; but there has been a tendency in recent years to elevate him to the stature of a latter-day prophet on matters of culture in general. His war-time diary, if it does nothing else, should put an end to this deification of Berenson as a wisdom-laden guide amid the perplexities of modern life. The "reflections" referred to in the title of the present book are distressingly banal, when not positively painful; at best, they portray an old-fashioned gentleman who, as a young man, read Walter Pater's epilogue to *The Renaissance*, and who sums up his credo, in the midst of the wreckage and ruin of war-time Italy, as being "the enjoyment of the individual human being as a work of art."

RUMOR AND REFLECTION, by Bernard Berenson (Simon and Schuster; $6).

Naturally, such an outlook is hardly the proper preparation for any penetrating understanding of the political and social contortions of the modern world. And it is unfortunate that, instead of communing more frequently with his incomparable sensibility, Berenson felt called upon to play the political sage and devote so much space to "reflections" on this subject. Perhaps this is an indulgence of old age, since he admits that politics did not begin to interest him until the age of thirty; and even then, he says, "it took yet a while before I began to realize that, internationally at least, governments, excepting possibly the English and American, did not believe in moral conduct toward each other, and scarcely claimed to be guided by anything but their own advantage, and the power to secure it." However commendable this innocence may be, as evidence of a spirit unperturbed by cynicism and moral ambiguity, it demonstrates an intellectual naïveté that is all too clearly reflected in the pages of this diary.

For that matter, Berenson has never had much interest in precise and rigorous thinking, even in the field of his own deepest interest. In his major work on *The Italian Painters of the Renaissance*, he develops a theory of esthetic pleasure as based on "tactile values;" but he notes that, after a few pages, he stopped reading Theodor Lipps, the German psychologist and esthetician whose theory of *Einfühlung* attempted to give a scientific foundation to "tactile values." "I disliked the vocabulary" Berenson explains; and he adds caustically—"as if putting oneself in the place of the art object needed elaborate demonstration." Perhaps it did not; and Berenson, after all, was an art-critic, not an esthetician. But this disparaging attitude toward serious thinking, as distinct from musing or rumination, hardly makes these jottings intellectually exhilarating.

The most valuable sections of the book are likely to be those concerned with the war-time situation in Northern Italy; future historians may well find this collection of rumors of considerable interest. And there are also some shrewd observations on the volatile Italian national character, which Berenson knows from some fifty years of loving observation. For the rest, a good many pages are taken up with the problem of the emancipated Jew who, like Berenson during the war, found himself physically threatened by anti-Semitism. Berenson believes that the only alternative is "isolation or assimilation"—an honest enough conclusion, even though one may question its exclusiveness. Nonetheless, he finds it impossible to accept the "senseless shape" of Christian theology, and is a Christian only "as a participant of a civilization that we can no more shut out than the air we breathe." I am unable to understand why, as Berenson assumes, being a Jew excludes one from Western civilization; Jewish ethical values are certainly an essential part of its tradition. And if, like Berenson, we reject historical Christianity, then we reject everything that differentiates Christianity from Judaism. It was not Jesus but Paul who stopped preaching to the Jews.

Along with these religious reflections, we find a series of notations on the modern world distinguished by their pleasantly archaic flavor. "Nazism in the collective sphere," according to Berenson, can be equated with "Freudism in the case of the individual." And I must confess to a feeling of nostalgia for a simpler, and perhaps happier day, when I read that Freudism has "an excited interest in what goes on beneath the belt to the exclusion of head and members. It is as if in a household everything was ignored—proportion, architecture, comfort, furnishing—and that nothing counted but drains, more drains, and ever more drains." This strain of prissiness, a hangover from Berenson's Boston education, still asserts itself very markedly; he confides that, even after fifty years, he has not accustomed himself to the frankness with which the Mediterranean peoples "discuss our animal nature." At bottom, Berenson has changed very little from the young man to whom it never occurred that nations might act out of self-interest rather than altruism. He retains a constitutional incapacity to look facts in the face, except when they have, or can be given, an esthetic patina; and he spoils one of the best stories in his book by a piously genteel gloss. Pope Benedict XV, on his deathbed, is reputed to have sent away the priests come to give him absolution with the remark:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Off with you, the play is over" (*la commedia è finita*). "His Holiness" Berenson interpolates, "surely meant *commedia* as *divina*, Divine Comedy in the sense of Dante's masterpiece." Maybe so; but I think not. JOSEPH FRANK

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

ISOLATION AND ALLIANCES, by Walter Lippmann (Atlantic, Little Brown; $1.50).

"THE HIGHEST form of simplicity," said Henry James, "is that which has been achieved after complexity has been mastered." That is the quality of these two brief lectures by Walter Lippmann.

He begins by reappraising our isolationist foreign policy. He concludes that it was an active policy "of which the central purpose has been the determination to expand across the continent from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific Ocean."

This policy developed behind Britain's protective shield until the balance of power in Europe was challenged by Germany in 1914. Then the US "instead of continuing to look forward to towards the west, . . . had to look backward across the ocean to the countries from which it had come."

The Wilsonian ideology, Lippman asserts was "the first great American effort to meet the New World situation." Lippman, who helped inspire it as a *New Republic* editor, concludes now that it represented "the internationalism of the isolationists" since it was based on idealism rather than the realities of rivalries and alliances. He regrets that it took us on a thirty year detour culminating in the destruction of the wartime Atlantic Community in the belief that since this community was not universal it was therefore wrong. "The Wilsonian ideology," Lippman concludes, "is an impossible foundation for a foreign policy of a nation placed as we are and carrying the burden of our responsibilities."

If, standing alone, the Wilsonian ideology is obsolete—as most of us would agree—what is needed now? The further development of the Atlantic Community? How then is it to advance, what is to be its relationship to European federation, to the United Nations, to the struggling and suspicious nations of Asia? Lippmann does not even raise these questions. He cuts his whole argument short in favor of a discussion of Germany, advancing a dubious solution to a threat which though grave, is no graver for the Atlantic Community than the insolvency of Britain, the decline of Western Europe, the chaos of the Middle East, the deepening poverty of Asia, or the relation of China to its border states.

Why is Lippman unable to complete his argument? The answer perhaps is that like another first class thinker, George Kennan, he is a master in the field of diplomacy but a postulant in democratic politics.

Thus Lippman begins by asserting that as the Atlantic Community develops "all the great departments of the two governments are in direct communication" and elected leaders are "now accountable to two constituencies." The first of these developments pleases him because it is controllable; the second confounds him because he doubts whether it can be controlled. He notes with displeasure that the Marshall Plan and other great programs "could never have won popular support unless the highly charged emotions of the Wilsonian ideology had been aroused to support them." But he distrusts all highly charged emotionalism. He asserts happily that after rejecting the Wilsonian ideology "we are now back on the main road" of the Atlantic Community. Then—unhappy qualification—he adds: "that at least can be said of official thinking and planning in the State Department and the Pentagon. In Congress and among the people the traditional modes though they are receding are still dominant."

That is true—and a rather important qualification in a democracy! Kennan questioned whether diplomacy and democracy were compatible. Lippmann shares his doubts. Both men know that diplomacy poses intricate and complicated problems. Both believe that these problems must be handled by trained experts free to maneuver according to their own best interpretation of the national interest. Both distrust the intrusions of an uninformed electorate with its folk myths and its pressure groups. Both men fear that the public will follow superficial demagogues and irrational crusaders so (Eisenhower excepted) Lippmann shuns crusades. The ends that Lippmann seeks are surely right. And his methods are just as surely inadequate, for foreign policy has forced its way into our tax returns and our prayers. Every family gives three months wages for rearmament and foreign aid. Every family sends its sons to military service abroad, to battle and possible death. For these reasons citizens are determined to shape the foreign policy that vitally affects them. They are determined to do this in Britain, France and Italy. Their determination is greater in our federal system, where they have been taught to look with distrust on all that the federal government, and above all the State Department, attempts to do.

The voters are determined to shape policy. But they cannot follow the intricate web of Lippmann's world of alliances and secret diplomacy. They demand simple laws by which transgressors can be judged, and simple rules by which they can be punished. That, as much as the internationalism of the isolationists, explains the Covenant of the League and the Charter of the U.N. And the rigidity imposed by these institutions is the price we pay for collective security at a time when peoples are determined to break, by their own actions, an unending cycle of wars. All this suggests that laws, symbols and institutions—the heresies of Wilson—have their place in world politics. For example, Lippmann maintains that the Atlantic Community is incomplete until a Franco-German partnership is realized. But if the partnership is to be between peoples, as well as foreign offices, realization may lie in the roundabout method of representative institutions for a European federation. And just as Lippmann maintains that Wilson's universalism is archaic for the present, so his own prescription of alliances directed by the foreign offices may be archaic for the military and economic pressures that confront the Atlantic Nations bound only with NATO's twine. MICHAEL STRAIGHT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POPULAR MISERY

PRISONER OF GRACE, by Joyce Cary (Harper; $3).

As I READ *Prisoner of Grace,* I kept wondering what makes Joyce Cary so popular; and though I've gone on to read *Herself Surprised, The Horse's Mouth* and *A Fearful Joy,* I still don't know. We assume that most titles on the best seller list offer a number of vicarious satisfactions to the public—sex, bloodshed, suspense, exotic adventures and so on, done in a racy style full of solecisms to provide the reader with an escape from his miseries. None of these four books performs such services, and unless they are an inadequate sample of Mr. Cary's work—he has published at least a dozen novels—we may have to revise our notion of the requirements for popular success.

Prisoner of Grace, related in the first person by Nina Latter, an English gentlewoman, deals with her life with two men, her cousin Jim, whom she loves, and Chester Nimmo, a prominent Liberal politician, whom she does not love, but nevertheless marries and sticks by for close to twenty years. Nina marries Chester, while she is still a young girl, to cover her pregnancy by Jim; Chester knows this but pretends he does not. His protestations of selflessness and religious devotion are the deceptions of a hypocrite who is glad to have Nina because she is much richer and of a higher social class than he, and therefore of use to his political career. Later in their marriage, Nina bears a second child by Jim. This raises a question of probability, which Mr. Cary glosses over, as Nina has had intercourse with her cousin only twice (she has no children by Chester). Nimmo also glosses it over, and is once more willing to pocket the humiliation, but he is now a great statesman and must avoid scandal. In spite of his hypocrisies, he makes Nina feel that he loves her. His love is nearly ruinous to her, but she consents to being brow beaten, swallows her hatred of him and comes back for more, and does not leave him until he is quite an old man and fallen from power. Divorced from Chester she marries Jim (but does not become pregnant) and for the first time in her life experiences a little happiness. Her happiness, however, is short lived, and she is once again stuck with Chester, who moves into her house on the pretext that he must have Nina's help with his memoirs, and submits to his senile urges in spite of the disgust they arouse in her.

A far cry from the wish fulfilment of popular romance. Nina is not the standard narcissist of the best sellers, and her sex life, described in scanty and vague detail, is not a series of conquests but a career of resignation. The style is slow and prose-ridden and most of the narrative is given in summary, with few dramatic scenes; sometimes it is downright dull. This, too, is the case in *Herself Surprised,* where the heroine, Sara, a servant woman, is also a masochist and actually submits to beatings from her man. Tabitha in *A Fearful Joy* is of the same type, though her adventures in arty circles may serve, for some readers, as a taste of the *haute monde.* Gulley Jimson, the broken down painter of *The Horse's Mouth* (clearly the best novel of the four) is the closest approximation to the popular hero in that he is a *picaro* and unmitigated rogue, but he is shown in complete decrepitude, on the edge of insanity and death.

I don't mean to say that Mr. Cary's novels are entirely without concessions to the ordinary demands of the public, but they are written in a minor key and bear a load of squalor and frustration which is most unusual in lucrative fiction. His characters undergo humiliation, defeat and physical suffering; they grow old and fall apart. There are moments in which they catch fire, but the fire dies out and they are left to be consumed by rheumatism. Now as we assume that the characters of best selling novels are constructed mainly to serve as vehicles of compensation for the disappointments of their audience, it remains something of a problem to say how Joyce Cary attracts so many readers. Undoubtedly, his flair for English character and speech, for whimsy and humor of exaggeration (there is none of this in *Prisoner of Grace*) appeals to some, and his part-time seriousness and even excellence as a writer takes hold of others—but this should not add up to a crowd. It may be that our assumptions on saleability are much too pat, and that people, especially neurotics, enjoy having their masochism confirmed; or perhaps a good number of readers have come to prefer having their compensations held off to catching them in the face like pie. Otherwise, I don't see how he does it.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

A DUBIOUS REVIVAL

REVENGE FOR LOVE, by Wyndham Lewis (Regnery; $3).

THAT WYNDHAM LEWIS should be revived in England and published in America is another dreary sign of the times. Lewis may figure in 20th century literary history, but the notion that he is important as a novelist or, in Regnery's words, as "a prophet" must be put down to the recent turn to reaction by some rattled intellectuals.

Revenge for Love, which first appeared in 1937, is described by Regnery as "an utterly devastating attack on the empty pretentiousness of the left-wing intellectual milieu of the 1930s." Candor might have led the publisher to add that in this "devastating attack" Lewis dismisses loyalist Spain as "red," clearly implies a fondness for Franco, and uses the word "Jewish" in a manner as nastily ambiguous as it is apparently neutral.

The plot of the novel consists of several disconnected anecdotes: whatever happens to disturb Lewis at a given moment suffers the weight of his invective, and he is a man with a large capacity for disturbance. His central figure, Hardcaster, is a professional Communist and self-acknowledged cynic, who is wounded in a Franco prison and then, after his release, returns to England as a darling of "the left." In a long middle section Lewis rasps out a diatribe against the Bloomsbury bohemians: phony artists, befuddled travellers, partymen ear-deep in intrigue, bourgeois girls on the hunt for thrills. Hardcaster connects with a penniless but not entirely corrupted artist, and through a series of maneuvers verging from the preposterous to

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the incredible he leads the artist (lamb in political chains) and his middle-class wife (lambie in bohemian chains) to the Spanish border, where they smuggle arms and are caught. Artist and wife die; Hardcaster rots in prison screaming for "his rights."

Lewis must once have had talent, for shards of it lie scattered through the book. His invective can be amusing in a coarse sort of way; his eye for fakes is sharp; he has a knack for evoking the nauseating sides of a physical experience. Once or twice he recalls Celine: both look upon art as a ceremony of regurgitation. But Celine was lucky enough to avoid ideology in his novels and therefore could release his disgust with spontaneous purity, while Lewis, who can think better than Celine but has no better thoughts, feels obliged to labor his crankiness on every page.

Whatever Lewis touches turns to excess. His language will no doubt be praised for its Vigor; to me it seems the manic vigor of a man incapable of discriminations of intellect or niceties of feeling. Lewis has not learned the first lesson of the political novel—which is to give the opposition enough force so that there seems a good reason for knocking it down. Nor has he learned the first lesson of satire—which is never to suggest that you, sanctified author, are untainted by the sins of your characters. To be sure, some of his volleys at "the left" and at Bloomsbury hit the mark; but how could they not, with so wide a target and so fierce a spray of ammunition?

Wyndham Lewis, at least the Lewis of *this* book, is one of those Pound-nourished intellectuals who delight in proclaiming their peevish contempt for "the mob," who arrogate to themselves the role of the shaggy He-Man of Letters, and preen themselves on being the Aristocrats of the Word in an era of democratic promiscuity. Pounding their chests with roars of self-approval and thrusting declarations of virility into their work like angry umbrellas, these writers form the fellow-travellers of the right. Their politics come to little more than an enduced nostalgia for Good Bread and Healthy Copulation, and a loud contempt for pinks, fairies and long-hairs. They are not fascists and would be among the first to suffer under fascism, but they help prepare the seed-bed of irrationality in which fascism thrives. Not, of course, that a man like Lewis lacks intelligence; not at all. He merely lacks that much rarer gift, *sophrosyne*, the tact for a useful employment of intelligence.

IRVING HOWE

PROBLEMS OF THE WEST

GERMAN NATIONALISM: THE TRAGEDY OF A PEOPLE, by Louis L. Snyder (Stackpole; $3.75).

WHITHER EUROPE, UNION OR PARTNERSHIP? by M. J. Bonn (Philosophical Library; $3.75).

THE UNITED STATES IN WORLD AFFAIRS 1951, by Richard P. Stebbins (Harper; $5).

PROFESSOR SNYDER approaches German nationalism with the moral values of an American liberal and the detailed knowledge of a German-trained scholar. He knows that nationalism is as little an innate character with the Germans as with any other peoples. "There was hardly a national feeling or consciousness in the Germanies of the late 18th century." Then, as in the Middle Ages, Germany in her intellectual life was an integral part of the West. German nationalism arose during the Napoleonic wars and, as in so many other countries of Central and Eastern Europe and of Asia, assumed a strongly anti-Western character. It rejected the common sense and the inclinations toward rationalism and universalism, predominant, though not always victorious and rarely uncontested, in the West. In all these peoples there lived, to use a famous German word, two souls, a Western or liberal soul and a proud revolt against the West on behalf of a higher enthusiasm.

Professor Snyder presents this anti-Western or extremist trend in German nationalism in its various aspects; many lesser known figures come to life in the pages of his book and utter thoughts and sentiments which will strike the Western reader as strange but which always are supported by copious references to a vast literature. Perhaps some readers might view the most recent development among German intellectuals more hopefully than Professor Snyder does; they may also be aware that many of the features so rightly repugnant to Professor Snyder in German extremist nationalism, are to be found as blatantly in other nationalities; but they will be deeply grateful to Professor Snyder for his patient and skillful gathering of so many relevant facts; and they will finally bear his words in mind that "no claim for finality of judgment is made" by him. There can be no doubt, however, of the correctness of his thesis that the climate of opinion in Germany from 1870 to 1945 was not liberal nor congenial to Western standards of political life and morality.

Western Unity began as an official issue in 1947. It arose from two needs: the common defense of all Western states against communist Russian imperialism, and the deficit economy of Western Europe which was restored to an equilibrium only by the help of the American partners in the Western world. From then on, a great debate began, whether a close federation, either of the Western European nations alone or of the whole North Atlantic community, was a possible goal. Dr. Bonn, a German economist who has lived many years in Britain and the United States, argues against union on a federal basis. He advocates instead, following therein the British and Scandinavian viewpoint, a system of multiple partnership and limited working arrangements.

Not without some reason Dr. Bonn believes that Germany and France are pursuing, under the guise of Europeanism or internationalism, a purely national policy. Germany wants to get rid of the shackles tying her down; France is afraid of German ascendancy. Does not the survival of Western Germany depend on the most intense economic co-operation of the entire Western world? Can not only such an intense political co-operation of the whole West allay the widespread fears of Germany in France and the Low Countries? The latest discussions in Luxembourg and Strasbourg seem to render Dr. Bonn's doubts and apprehensions less

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

valid than they were perhaps six months ago: the will to unify appears stronger than he supposed. But he may be right, that Western European union in the limited sense, as now envisaged, is not enough, it can only work within the framework of a North Atlantic union.

In the yearly scholarly and entirely dispassionate survey of the United States in world affairs, which the Council on Foreign Relations sponsors, Mr. Stebbins shows the slow developing of the Atlantic community as the main event of 1951. The building of a mutual defense has made great progress, but it becomes more and more obvious that close military co-operation demands common organs for political decisions and for economic adjustment. "Some of the smaller NATO governments had long felt," Mr. Stebbins states, "that the organization would be more effective if it also paid more attention to the broad political and economic aims which, in their view, offered the only justification for the arduous military effort on which they were now engaged." In the preamble of the Mutual Security Act in 1951, the American Congress stated as its purpose "to further encourage the economic unification and the political federation of Europe." But American enthusiasm for unification of other states was not matched by a similar readiness for unification with other states. Not only the hard reality of the Russian and German situation, but also the need for more lasting and more inspiring goals of co-operation, will soon probably force the Western nations on both sides of the Atlantic to proceed further toward union than any of them would have believed possible a few years ago.

HANS KOHN

Win or lose, his speeches will be used as models for years to come

Speeches of Adlai Stevenson

With a foreword by ***JOHN STEINBECK****, and a concise biography by DEBS MYERS (a former editor of "YANK") and RALPH MARTIN (a former editor of "STARS AND STRIPES")*

$1 PAPER BOUND

HOW TO GET A COPY: Attach a dollar bill to this "ad" and mail it, with your name and address (please print), to your favorite bookseller, or to the publisher.

The speeches which Adlai Stevenson has contributed to the 1952 presidential campaign have rarely been equaled in American politics for eloquence, humor and literary style. No modern statesman, except Winston Churchill, has so electrified a country by his spoken words.

RANDOM HOUSE
457 Madison Ave., N. Y. 22, N. Y.

UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY

FAIR TRIAL, by Richard B. Morris (Knopf; $5).

MR. MORRIS, when he is dealing with such familiar material as the murder of the Rev. Edward Wheeler Hall and Mrs. Eleanor Mills, pours out the details as if no one had ever revealed them before. As a result, even the laborious testimony of the "Pigwoman" and Willie achieves a pleasant freshness.

Nevertheless most readers of Fair Trial will probably begin by examining what the author, a professor of American History at Columbia, has to say about Alger Hiss, the last of the defendants to be considered. Mr. Morris could obviously have done Mr. Hiss more good than the fabulously expensive series of lawyers who unsuccessfully tried to plant a "reasonable doubt" as to his guilt in the minds of the jury.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why, the author demands, did the defense never produce anyone who had known Whittaker Chambers as George Crosley, the name Hiss claims he used during their acquaintance? At least one unsummoned witness was willing to swear that Chambers did use the name. Why is it that only in a recent post-trial affidavit have experts sworn that *none* of the famous documents in the case could have been stored for a decade in the dusty envelope in which Chambers testified they were sealed? Why have other experts now for the first time deposed that the documents contain fifty typing errors not found in any of Priscilla Hiss's letters; moreover, that they were not typed by one person but by two or more (Hiss himself does not type), and, finally, that *none* was the work of Mrs. Hiss.

Numerous other generally unknown and unemphasized items are outlined in the clear-headed fifty pages Mr. Morris has devoted to the most famous political trial our day. He concludes:

> If the verdict is correct and Alger Hiss is guilty, then his shocking disloyalty was only matched by his incredible stupidity. If he is innocent, he is the victim of the most monstrous frame-up since a French captain of artillery was sent to Devil's Island on the basis of a forged *bordereau*.

The author does not pass judgment on any of the other defendants either, but, in each instance, he questions whether the verdict was arrived at by defensible legal means. He includes accounts of the trials of Anne Hutchison, Captain Kidd, John Peter Zenger, Aaron Burr, John Brown, the anarchists found guilty of exploding a bomb in Chicago's Haymarket Square, and John White Webster, the Harvard professor convicted of one of the grisliest murders in our history.

In one case, Mr. Morris focuses his attention on the brilliant young lawyer who by the use of an almanac convinced a jury that his client was innocent of murder. The attorney was Lincoln.

The essays in *Fair Trial* are, without exception, dramatically readable; they also constitute a valuable study of our developing but still imperfect judicial system.

MERLE MILLER

A DELAYED NOVEL

THE FRONTIERS, by John Strachey (Random House; $3).

JOHN STRACHEY'S variegated career has included as its high points authorship of *The Coming Struggle for Power*, a fairly orthodox explication of the economics and culture of capitalism, and, later, service as Minister of War in the British Labour Government. He was active in World War II as a Wing Commander in the Royal Air Force. From this last experience he wrote in 1941 this novel which for security reasons could not be published until the end of the War.

On one level it is a literate, well-paced account of the attempt of a British pilot shot down in occupied France to elude Vichy and the Germans, with the aid of the French underground. There is the inevitable love affair between the flier and the French girl who guides him through the channels of escape, but it is handled with far more taste and wit than was the rule of the genre that flooded the last years of the war and the early years of the liberation.

The fact that Strachey turns out to be a first-rate story-teller is interesting but less so than the re-examination of political morality he weaves into his dramatic story. To paraphrase the confrontation of ideas as a battle between the liberal faith and the rival totalitarian ideologies can only destroy the subtlety of thought and emotion he endows the conversations between Pierre Laval and a humanist scholar. His fascists are not stereotyped monstrosities; his liberals often culpable of the error of fear "to act in faith." An integral personal belief in the humane virtues of honor, duty, love—the virtues that sometimes seem cant at worst, hopelessly chivalric at best in the light of the century's history—seemed to Strachey in 1941 the only guides out of the despair of a defeated France.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

CORRECTION

Ethics in Government, (Harvard Press) by Sen. Paul Douglas, sells for $2.25. The price was incorrectly quoted in the October 6 issue of NR.

IN THE MIDST OF DEATH

by Eric Bentley

DR. JOHNSON SAID marriage wasn't unhappy except as life was unhappy, and we may add that the theatre isn't dead except as our culture in general is dead. I shall not follow the Sunday papers and call the theatre a fabulous invalid, because the phrase suggests debility without death whereas there is a good deal in theatre now that is quite, quite dead and, contrariwise, what is more fabulous than its usual debility is its occasional strength. Along with much mortality there is not a little vitality, and in the midst of death we are in life.

The recognized eras of theatrical greatness are those of the great playwrights yet a theatre is not dead when there are no playwrights, it is dead only when there are no actors. In an age without playwrights the actors can still give us theatre, and that in at least three sorts of composition: revivals, vaudeville, and star vehicles. Of the three, revivals have had the highest prestige, because the tradition of acting since Betterton has largely been the tradition of acting Shakespeare. Shaw is now becoming as safe a standby as Shakespeare. What could be more symptomatic of our situation than the fact that last year's best dramatic performance was a reading of a single Shavian scene, or that the best drama in New York as I write is Shaw's very first effort at playwriting?

For lack of another term, I am using the word vaudeville to include cabaret, revues, variety, music hall, and, above all, musicals. In all of these the individual item is more important than the composition, if any, of which it is a part, and within the individual item performance easily transcends the script and the score. Sometimes of course a musical is so good as to pass the bounds of this definition into the territory of drama and opera. More often it fails to cover the ground at its own disposal, and the leading comedian is the one bright and fertile spot. The remedy is to detach him and present the Prince of Denmark without *Hamlet*.

The show at the Booth without Bea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trice Lillie would be nothing, Beatrice Lillie without the show is everything. It is the live part of theatre with the dead meat cut away. Touching the very quick of theatrical art in Miss Lillie's work we realize how dead is not only the kind of show she herself has often been condemned to appear in but (more important) the kind of show that is thought to have higher status. The realization is forced upon us that standards of theatrical craftsmanship get lower as the intellectual pretensions of theatre people increase; it is an exact inverse ratio.

Doubtless the speakers at a recent ANTA debate were right in saying that talent abounds and is being blocked; but it is being blocked at the source, it is not yet available, because it is untrained. Most actors are unemployed yet the fact remains that it is hard to find a first-rate cast for any play. The only large group of actors who know how to do anything is the "hoofer" group. It is with this in mind that I use so smiling a subject as Miss Lillie as theme for a sermon. She can do things, and the concept of the actor as one who does things is unhappily receding before the concept of the actor as folk hero (filmstar, covergirl) and the actor as common man (who doesn't know how to speak, sit, stand, or walk, let alone sing, dance, and turn cartwheels). Miss Lillie is an edifice of perfect control and amazing agility upon a foundation of unshakable humor. Her *Evening* is one of the two notable events—instances of life in the midst of death—of this season.

The other is the latest appearance of Uta Hagen in a "star vehicle" called *In Any Language* by two authors whose names I feel no urge to look up. I hasten to add that I have nothing against vehicles as such, and I grant that the genre is to be judged by criteria less exacting than those of drama proper. A vehicle serves its purpose if you can ride in it, and far from hitching my wagon to a star I am eager to hitch a star to any wagon that will carry her. This vehicle drops Uta Hagen rudely in the roadway.

The writer of a vehicle play can fall short of drama only where it is possible for the actor to make the deficiency good. Actors have been known to suggest to audiences depths of emotion and even profundities of thought that are not to be found in their script. If such cases are examined, however, it will be discovered, first, that the script didn't put obstacles in their way and, second, that it initiated what they completed. For example the actor can make a moderately witty line sound *very* witty; with an unwitty line he is powerless. He can make the purse only if the writer provides him with silk and not a sow's ear.

The first minutes of *In Any Language*, as well as the advance publicity, give us the impression that we are in for a satirical treatment of Ingrid Bergman and Rossellini. It would have been perfectly legitimate for the authors to disappoint this expectation later, it would have been legitimate for them to depart, as they did, from satire itself, had they found any other path from death to life. Instead the evening is tense not with drama but with the fight waged by actors and director against the play. I think George Abbott's directing as far above most directing of the "serious" variety as Bea Lillie's acting is above our Shakespeareonics. But if there's anything that cannot be forced it is light comedy. I am told that Uta Hagen's role is good in that it "frees" her from the straitjacket of classic austerity and/or neurotic intensity in which she is supposed to have been constricted. Let's hope it frees people of the illusion that she ever wore such a jacket. An actress of her accomplishment has no need to prove her versatility. Unversatile actors aren't actors; at best they are personalities. We not only knew Uta Hagen could act. Her non-comic work couldn't possibly have been so good if she hadn't had the comedienne in her. And as to bringing the comedienne *out* of her, Miss Hagen wanted to do it and the authors of *In Any Language* couldn't entirely stop her; my complaint is that they do very seriously hamper her. After this, if she can't find a real play, she should make sure that a vehicle is a vehicle is a vehicle.

TO THE HAPPY FEW
The Letters of Stendhal
Translated by Norman Cameron
$5.00

THE MONK
By Matthew G. Lewis
Introduction by John Berryman
$4.75

THE GOLDEN BOWL
By Henry James
Introduction by R. P. Blackmur
$6.50

THE CONFIDENCE-MAN
By Herman Melville $2.25

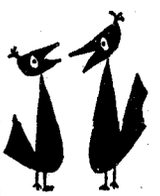
GROVE PRESS
59 West 9th St., New York 11

BOOKS

Looking for a PUBLISHER?
Learn about our special plan whereby your book can be published, promoted and distributed on a professional basis. All types of manuscripts invited. New authors welcome. Write for Booklet RP today. It's free.
VANTAGE PRESS, 120 W. 31 St., New York 1.
In Calif.: 6356 Hollywood Blvd., Hollywood 28.

PERSONAL

exit loneliness
Somewhere there is someone you would like to know. Somewhere there is someone who would like to know you. We can help you find a richer, happier life through discreet, dignified 'social introductions.' *Write for booklet, or phone*
MAY RICHARDSON
Dept. N.R., 111 West 72 Street
New York City EN 2-2033



PEP
Pamphlets
● Single copies of the broadsheets issued by Political and Economic Planning (London) may still be purchased from the New Republic for 25c cash postpaid. The most recent issues are:

#332 The Sterling Area—I
#332 The Sterling Area—II
#333 Land-Use Planning
#334 The Control of Investment
#335 The Gramophone Record
#336 The Prospects
#337 Home Ownership
#338 The Future of Leasehold
#339 Exports—A Longer View.
#340 The World's Food
#341 Film Business
#342 France—Some Economic Factors
#343 Colonial Development
#344 Poverty
#345 France—Reconstruction & Investment
#346 Technical Assistance 1—Agencies and Programmes

Price 25¢—Order from
The New Republic
40 EAST 49 STREET New York 17, N. Y.

PRINTED BY NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO., 301 N. ST., N. E., WASHINGTON 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ADLAI STEVENSON

10c

The man and his views...

. . . on inflation, corruption, labor, McCarthy and foreign policy---as revealed in his own speeches and writings.

TO HELP *the undecided* MAKE UP THEIR MINDS

buy and distribute this 12-page pamphlet

150,000 copies now in print

Now is the time to get in the best licks of the campaign. Hosts of people who began by thinking they would vote for Eisenhower are no longer sure. The story of this election may well be written in the last two weeks or last two days.

The *New Republic's* 12-page pamphlet has proved the most effective single campaign document. There has been a virtual sell-out of 100,000 copies on the newsstands of the country. Another 50,000 have been bought by organizations, labor and political groups and *New Republic* subscribers. The pamphlet contains excerpts from speeches and writings of Governor Stevenson before he was nominated, but these are the same views he now is presenting to the country and with the same eloquence.

If you have not as yet ordered ADLAI STEVENSON—The Man and His Views, do so today. The price is 10c a copy postpaid in quantities less than 50. For lower rates in larger quantities, see the schedule of bulk prices listed below. Clip and return the order form below.

BULK REPRINT PRICES:

50 copies	$4
100 copies	$6
200 copies	$11
500 copies	$25
1000 copies	$45

(All prices cover postage)

Write for terms on larger quantities or specially printed editions.

CUT

NEW REPUBLIC • 40 E. 49 ST. • NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

For the enclosed $..... please send me ..... copies of the Stevenson reprint.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... ZONE.....STATE.....

10-20-52

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED